NIGERIAN POLITICS AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION:

An Analysis of the Role of Religion in Nigerian Politics at the Early Stages of National Integration

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur
Erlangung der Doktorwürde
der
Philosophischen Fakultät
der
Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität
zu
BONN

vorgelegt von

MICHAEL CHUKWUMA
(M.A.-Theol., M.Phil.)
aus
UGBAWKA-NIGERIA

BONN 1985

NIGERIAN POLITICS AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION:

An Analysis of the Role of Religion in Nigerian Politics at the Early Stages of National Integration

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur
Erlangung der Doktorwürde
der
Philosophischen Fakultät
der
Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität
zu
BONN

vorgelegt von

MICHAEL CHUKWUMA
(M.A.-Theol., M.Phil.)
aus
UGBAWKA-NIGERIA

BONN 1985

Angefertigt mit Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

1. Referent: Univ. Prof. Dr. H.-A. Jacobsen
2. Referent: Univ. Prof. Dr. L. Roos
3. Prüfer: Univ. Prof. Dr. W. Kluxen

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 3. Juli 1985

Druck: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Dedicated to my blind, sick, but
loving and happy father
Alli Baba

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41546505_0003

CONTENTS

		Page
	Maps	11
	Preface	16
0.	INTRODUCTION	19
0.1.	Nationhood of Nigeria in Question: The Problem	19
0.2.	Religious Experience as an Instrument of Integration	22
0.3.	Disruptive Forces of Traditional Societies	23
0.4.	Analyisis of Nigerian's Nationhood - How Far?	25
0.5.	Aim of Work	26
0.6.	Methodology and Hypotheses	27
0.7.	Scope and Delimitation	29
0.8.	Structure of Work	33
Chapter one		
1.	INSIGHT INTO NIGERIA	37
1.1.	Location and Physical Features	37
1.2.	Climate	38
1.3.	Peoples and Languages	39
1.4.	Population, Regionalism, Statism	48
1.5.	Religions in Nigeria	57
1.5.1.	The Traditional Religions	57
1.5.1.1.	Traditional Religions in the Face of Christianity and Islam	60
1.5.1.2.	Acculturation	62
1.5.2.	Islam	65
1.5.2.1.	Appealing Qualities of Islam	67
1.5.2.2.	Islam in Southern Nigeria	71
1.5.3.	Christianity	75
1.5.3.1.	Evangelization in the 15th Century	76
1.5.3.2.	The Second Trial	80
1.5.3.3.	Christian Missionaries of the 19th Century in Nigeria	84

Chapter two		Page
2. POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE TRADITIONAL ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION		92
2.1.	Analytical Introduction	92
2.1.1.	The Feudal Monarchical Political Structure	95
2.1.2.	The Traditional Constitutional Monarchical Systems	96
2.1.3.	The Segmentary Decentralized Republican Political Society	96
2.2.	Hausa as a People	98
2.2.1.	Origin of the Hausa	99
2.2.2.	Religion in the Hausa States	101
2.2.3.	Administration among the Hausa	102
2.3.	Hausa/Fulani	104
2.3.1.	System of Administration under the Leadership of Hausa/Fulani Leadership	106
2.4.	The Yoruba Political Background	112
2.4.1.	Origin of the Yoruba	112
2.4.2.	The Founding of Oyo Empire	115
2.4.3.	Administrative Set-Up of Oyo Empire	118
2.4.4.	Religion in the Political Life of the Emir	121
2.5.	The Igbo and their System of Administration	125
2.5.1.	Differentiating the Igbo	125
2.5.2.	The Niger/Onitsha Igbo	126
2.5.2.1.	Administration in Onitsha Political Society	129
2.5.3.	The Eastern or Non-Niger Igbo	132
2.5.4.	Igbo Political Philosophy	134
2.5.5.	Political Administration in an Igbo Village	140
2.5.5.1.	The Umunna or Village Assembly	142
2.5.6.	Religion in Igbo Political Structure	145
2.6.	Nigerian Ethnic Minorities	147
2.6.1.	The Kanem-Bornu Empire of the Kanuri	148
2.6.1.1.	Politics and Religion under the Leadership of the Mais	150

Page

2.6.1.2. Political Structure in Kanem-Bornu Empire 151
2.6.2. Some Other Minor Ethnic Groups in the Northern areas 156
2.6.2.1. The Junkun 157
2.6.2.2. The Jeba 157
2.6.2.3. The Tiv and the Idoma 157
2.6.2.4. The Nupe and the Igala 158
2.6.3. Minor Ethnic Groups in the Southern Part of Nigeria 159
2.6.3.1. The Benin Kingdom and the Edo 159
2.6.3.2. Political Administration of the Benin Kingdom 162
2.6.3.3. Europeans in Benin Kingdom -- 1972 163
2.6.3.4. Religion in the Edo Political System 165
2.6.4. Other Minor Ethnic Groups in the South of Nigeria 167

Chapter three

3. THE PATH OF THE UNIFICATION OF THE NIGERIAN VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS 169
3.1. The Exploration of the Hinterland 170
3.2. The Beginning of British Colonization in Nigeria 173
3.2.1. The Appointment of a Consul 174
3.3. The Christian Missionaries and Lagos Politics in 1850 177
3.4. British Administration of the Hinterland 1861-1872 180
3.5. Sir George Goldie and the Role of the Royal Niger Company in Nigeria 182
3.6. Relations between the Delta areas and the Cartered Company 186
3.7. Nigeria becomes British Protectorate 188
3.8. Finding a Name for the Conglomeration of the Ethnic Groups 189

		Page
3. 9.	The British Colonization of the Fulani Empire	190
3.10.	The Southern Protectorate	192
Chapter four		
4. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF NIGERIA		195
4.1.	Historical Analysis	195
4.2.	Native Administration in Nigeria	197
4.3.	British Administration of Northern Nigeria	199
4.3.1.	Indirect-Rule System	201
4.3.2.	Effects of Indirect-Rule in Northern Nigeria	208
4.4.	British Administration of Southern Nigeria	213
4.5.	The Falsifying Character of Indirect-rule in the North and the South	220
Chapter five		
5. THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM ON CONSTITUTIONAL GROWTH AND THE UNDERLYING ROLE OF RELIGION: 1914-1946		224
5.1.	Implication of Christian Missionary Activities on Nationalism	226
5.1.1.	Schism in Churches as an Instrument of Political Nationalism	230
5.2.	Constitutional Development in the Process of Amalgamation	235
5.2.1.	The Pre- 1914 Councils	235
5.2.2.	The Nigerian Council of 1914 - Legislative or Ceremonial Assembly?	237
5.2.2.1.	Criticisms of the Nigerian Council	239
5.3.	Hugh Clifford's Constitutional Reform of 1922	245
5.3.1.	Victory for the Nationalists' Aspiration?	247
5.3.2.	Excluding the North from the Legislative Council	249
5.4.	The After-effect of the 1922 Constitution and the Implication of Richard's Constitution of 1946	251
5.4.1	Internal Effects of Clifford's Constitution	253
5.4.1.1.	The Age of Associations and its Political Implication	254

Page

5.4.1.2. The Beginning of National Politics: Youth Movements 257

5.4.2. The Impact of External Organizations on Political Activities in Nigeria between 1923 and 1946 236

Chapter six

6. UNIFYING CONSTITUTIONS AND THE IMPLICATING PROBLEMS: RELIGIONS, REGIONS OR TRIBES? 266

6.1. Richard's Constitution of 1946 266

6.1.1. Reaction to Richard's Constitution 274

6.2. Macpherson's Constitution of 1951 275

6.2.1. Political Development in the North 277

6.2.2. The Structural Improvements initiated by Macpherson's Constitution of 1951 283

6.2.2.1. Regional Houses of Assembly and Method of of Election 286

6.2.2.2. Central Legislative Council 287

6.2.2.3. The Executive Council 288

6.2.3. Some notable Deficiencies of the Macpherson's Constitution 289

6.3. Ethnic and Religious Sentiments and the 1954 Constitutional Reforms 290

6.3.1. The East-West Confrontation 291

6.3.2. The North-South Confrontation 293

6.3.3. Lyttelton's Constitution of 1954 297

6.4. Constitutional Amendments for an Independent Nigeria 300

6.4.1. The Question of Self-Government (Independence) for Nigeria 303

6.4.2. Ethnic Minority Question and the Independence of Nigeria 306

Page

Chapter seven

7. RELIGION IN THE POLITICAL APPARATUS OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIZED NIGERIA 310
7.1. Religious Influence in Party Apparatus 310
7.2. Religion in Politics - Analytical Method 314
7.3. Religion and State 316
7.4. The Extent of Influence Exerted by the Religions on Nigerian Politics 321
7.4.1. Religious Influence in an Amalgamated Nigeria, 1914-1946 327
7.4.2. National Government and the Influence of Religion 335
7.4.2.1. Religious Pressure in National Decision-Making Organs 345
7.5. Instruments of Religious Influence on Nigerian Politics 357
7.5.1. Government and the Churches in the East 360
7.5.2. Politics in Western region and the Problems of the Religions 366
7.5.3. Instruments of Religious Influence on Politics before Independence in Northern Nigeria 373

Chapter eight

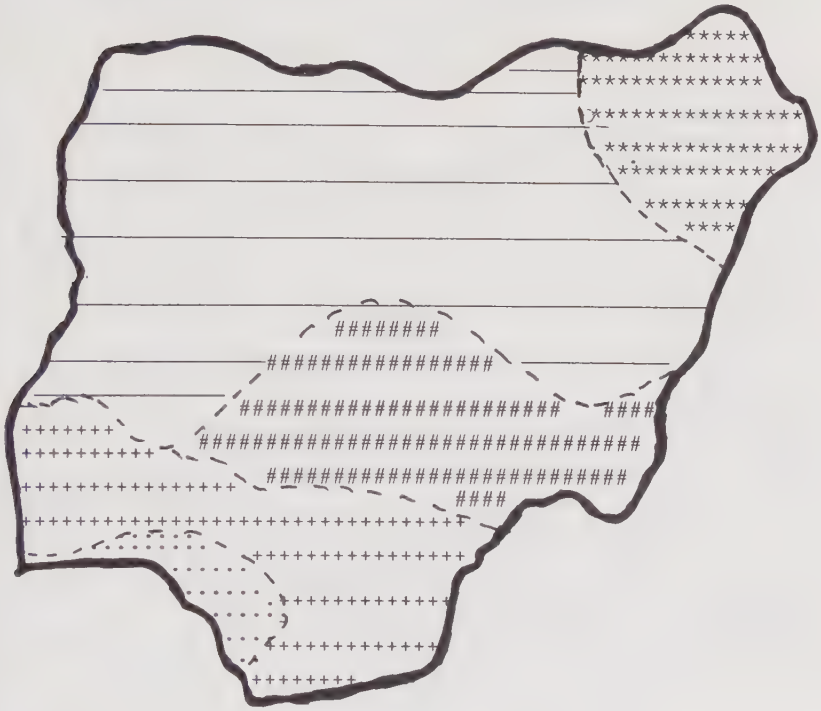
8. TOWARDS A HEALTHY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA 384
8.1. Freedom of Religion 386
8.2. Religious Freedom in Nigerian Political Society 389
8.3. Nigerian 1960 Constitution and the Right of Religious Freedom 397

Chapter nine

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 398

Abgekürzte Arbeitsdisposition und Zusammenfassung 413
List of Figures 424
Bibliography 425

MAJOR AREAS OF CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC INFLUENCE



Areas already under Islamic influence by the 11th century.

Areas mainly affected by the Christian evangelization of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Areas mainly affected by Othman dan Fodio's jihad(1804-1829).

Areas affected by the Christian missionary activities from 1841.

Areas of equal representation between Christianity and Islam.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS IN NIGERIA: 1900-1946

oooo
oooo Protectorate of Northern Nigeria

vvvv
vvvv Protectorate of Southern Nigeria

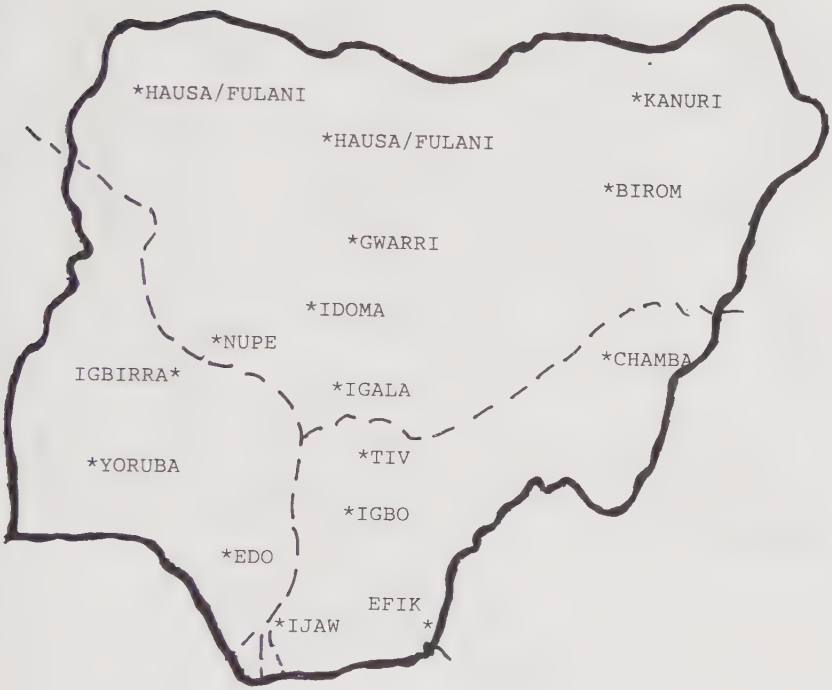
====
==== Colony of Lagos

River Niger & River Benue

Boundary between the Protectorates

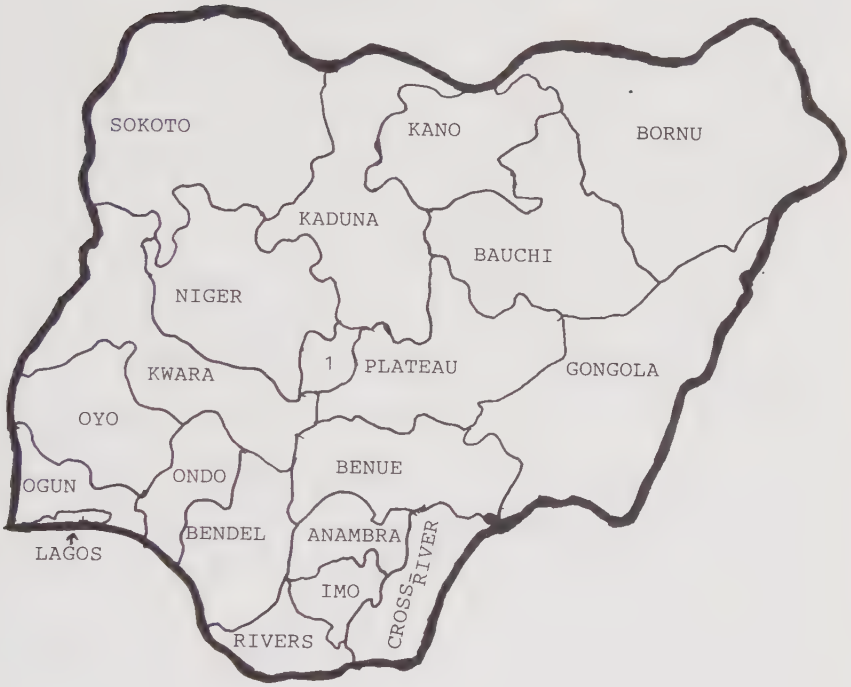
MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING SOME OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS

AND THEIR APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS:



THE THREE ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF NIGERIA
AND SOME OF THE MAJOR TOWNS
1947-1960

NIGERIA DIVIDED INTO NINETEEN STATES
(THE PRESENT SITUATION)



1= FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY (ABUJA)

PREFACE

Just a few months ago, the world commemorated the 100th anniversary of the Berlin Conference (November 1884-Febuary 1885) in which the partition of African among the European nations was officially confirmed.
The conference of the fourteen European nations and the United State of America was aimed at easing the problems confronted by these nations in their struggle for territories in Africa.

While Europe gained her peace through the Berlin Conference, the Africans who were arbitrarily grouped together into "artificial nations" were those suffered the negative effects of the European adventures in Africa."Nigeria", which became Britain's share of the booty, gained the certification of her "nationhood" at the Conference of Berlin.
The various ethnic groups which had previously enjoyed their political, religious, social and economic autonomy were, by virtue of British colonial power, force into one "nation".

The process of this unification was already the subject of various academic exercises.
I have also been confronted with the desire to know more about the principles which had governed some of the traditional political institutions which existed in Nigeria before colonialism. The summaries of some of my investigations were put down in some of my research works such as:

1. The Concept of good Government in South-eastern Nigeria.(1975)
2. Socio-philosophical review of the Government of our Igbo Ancestors and the Religious Influence.(1977)

I am equally fascinated by the parliamentary form of government adopted by Nigeria after her independence.
I made several attempts to assess this system of government in relation to its empirical value for the Nigerian situation.

In an effort, however, to reach at the underlying principles governing the various systems of government, I decided to

concentrate my attention on the analysis of the different political theories. The result of this study appeared in the form of my Master's degree thesis titled:

Political Philosophy of John Locke.

This doctoral dissertation is the result of my keen interest to expose the relationship between aspects of the traditional political systems and the modern forms of government in Nigeria. The decision to analyse the role of religion in Nigerian politics was reached as a result of the many encouraging seminars and lectures conducted by my professors, Dr. H.-A. Jacobsen and Dr. Lothar Roos.

Prof. Jacobsen incited the thought on this topic with his seminars on the role of the different pressure groups, associations , and institutions in the decision-making processes of a nation. Of great importance were also Prof. Roos' seminars and lectures which tried to analyse the role of the Church in a political society.

The views of these two intellectuals aroused my interest into questioning the role religion played in Nigerian politics during the process of consolidating her nationhood. That is, during the colonial period, of which 1914-1960 remains most outstanding.

I am deeply indebted to my professors, Dr. Jacobsen and Dr. Roos for the academic guidiance and the intellectual assistance they gave me during the course of writing this work. Many other academicians and scholars of political science, religion, theology and history deserve my unalloyed gratitude for their assistance in preparing this work.

The discussions and interviews with people like - Bishop Michael Eneja, Prof. Dr. S.N. Ezeanya, Prof. Elaigwu, Dr. Sunday Ochoche, Prof. Elizabeth Isichei, Alhaji Sarki Waziri(Secretary to the Emir of Kano), and a host of many others whom I cannot mention for lack of space, remain of great assistance to me. I owe all of them a lot of thanks.

Of great importance was also the role played by the many institutions which helped me in various forms. These include the

various museums and archives in Nigeria and in London, the Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung, Bonn, and the many libraries which made their services available to me. While I thank my Bishop,Michael Eneja for giving me the opportunity to do this study, I also extend my deep gratitude to Generalvikar Dr. Schlund of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, Dr. Thomas Kramm and Mrs. Maly Krebs of the Missionswissenschaftliches Institut, Aachen. The co-ordinating help of Dr. Kramm and Prof. Roos made the scholarship needed for this work possible. I am very grateful to Missio,Aachen for this assistance. I owe a lot of thanks to Simone Lutz who put in all her effort to get this work typed as early as it was needed. Thanks also to Sayku Krommah, second Secretary at the Liberian Embassy, Bonn who, among others, helped read through the manuschript. To my many other good friends in W/Germany, Austria, and Switzerland who helped me with their benevolence, advice and prayers, I say thank you.

Dept. of Political Science
University of Bonn
West Germany.

Michael Chukwuma
21st May 1985

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. Nationhood of Nigeria in Question: The Problem

Twenty-four years after Nigeria achieved her independence from Great Britain, she still finds herself trying to consolidate a "nation"which was the creation of Britain from the conglomeration of many neighbouring ethnic groups. Both before and after its political independence, the notion of Nigeria as one nation has always been found questionable by various politicians and ethnologists, as well as by a number of political analysts. At the same time, laudable arguments have been raised intended at giving Nigerians a sense of unity, on the presumption that such unity would help solve the problems connected with the phenomenon called "tribalism". A number of such arguments have been found to be analytically incorrect, rather pessimistic and merely legalistic. Important questions to be asked are: Who are really Nigerians? Are they a people? Is Nigeria really a nation? Or is it only a name for a geographical entity? Is there anything homogeneous in the heterogeneous Nigeria? How heterogeneous, or how homogeneous is Nigeria?

It is not enough to say, as Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana did, that "Nigeria became a people not because of the affinity of its people but because the rivalry between France and Britain at the turn of this century made it necessary for Britain to control the Niger and its hinterland".[1]

---

1. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria, Vol. 1, London, 1971, p. 142.

Nor should we content ourselves with Chief Awolowo's definition of Nigeria which said that, "Nigeria is not a Nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no "Nigerians" in the same sense as there are "English", "Welsh" or "French". The word "Nigeria" is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not".[2]

Although these statements about Nigeria oversimplify the rational and legitimate constitutionalism of Nigeria as a "nation", yet, they cannot be dismissed as altogether lacking in some form of logical validity, on analysing the political history of Nigeria. On the other hand, the reference to the amalgamation of Nigeria as "the mistake of 1914"[3], by the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello cannot be seen as helpful for the unity of the country. The three statements did have something in common, they emphasized the bitter truths about a nation in search of her identity, aims, and objectives. The statements could be the result of a thoughtful analysis of the historical characteristics of Nigeria. However, they are negative and supply only unsatisfactory conceptions of Nigeria's past and despondence on her future. One of the most pessimistic views on the idea of the nationhood of Nigeria could be said to have come from Sir Hugh Clifford, who was the Governor of Nigeria from 1919 to 1925.

---

2. Obafemi Awolowo, Path to Nigerian Freedom, Faber & Faber, London, 1947, pp. 47-48.

3. Quoted from House of Representatives (Lagos): Debates, 1953, in: My Life, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 133.

   Statements such as made by Ahmadu Bello must have given extra justification to such views like that of Franz Ansprenger who depicted most countries of Africa as "artificial" nations. Franz Ansprenger, Afrika: Eine politische Länderkunde, Berlin, 1972, pp. 37-38.

Dismissing the view that Nigeria is a"nation"as was claimed by the members of the Nigerian Council in 1920, he said, "Assuming ... that the impossible were feasible - that this collection of self-contained and mutually independent Native States, separated from one another, as many of them are, by great distances, by differences of history and traditions, and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers, were indeed capable of being welded into a single homogeneous nation - a deadly blow would thereby be struck at the very root of national self-government in Nigeria, which secures to each separate people the right to maintain its identity, its individuality and its nationality, its own chosen form of government and the peculiar political and social institutions.... "[4]

No matter how superfluous this view may seem, it contains some pertinent truths which, unfortunately, were overexaggerated. All who share the view of Sir Clifford could be said to be blind to history. As Frederick Schwarz said: "Other countries once dismissed a mere geographical expressions have proved their right to be known as nations".[5]

As a matter of fact, Nigeria is in the process of proving that the so-called political, social and religious barriers are only artificial. They are certainly surmountable barriers. Frederick Schwarz did agree that "three forces from outside have disrupted Nigeria's traditional societies.

---

4. Hugh Clifford, Address to the Nigerian Council, Dec. 29, 1920, Macaulay Papers, in Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, 1971, p. 194.

5. F.A.O. Schwarz (Jr.), Nigeria, The Tribes, the Nation or the Race - The Politics of Independence, M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts, 1965, p. 3.

The first is Islam and the second is Christianity. The third is secular Western civilization...."[6]
These disruptive elements, though arguably positive in themselves, helped create and strengthen those barriers perceived by Hugh Clifford as stumbling-blocks to Nigeria's nationhood.

0.2. Religious Experience as an Instrument of National Intergration.

Students of Sociology and Religion would agree that deep beneath the exhibited customs, laws and social ideas found in various cultures are basic attitudes conceived and nurtured by religious experiences. In which case, the customs, laws, social ideas and attitudes are only outward manifestations of the underlying conscious or unconscious religious experience. Therefore, the attitude to society, the world and oneself, be it in the fields of economics, politics, arts, life, property, commerce, labour and sex, can be said to find its motivating source and underlyidng principle in the religious experience.

According to Wach, "Institution such as marriage, family kingship and state are perceived in the light of the central religious experience, and a corresponding ideal of society is formulated".[7]
He also said: "Every human being, without choice on his part but simply by virtue of his birth and upbringing becomes a member of what we call a natural society, and he remains a member of that society... (and) among the additional ties which will increase the cohesion of the natural group is religion.

---

6. Frederick Schwarz, p. 7.

7. Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, Phoenise Books, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1944, p. 47.

The religious attitude of a natural group is determind by two factors:

1. A more or less clearly pronounced characteristic personal (collective or individual) experience of the Unknown or the Holy.
2. The role of tradition.[8]

From this point of view, religion becomes, no doubt, not only the foundation of ethical social norms which are made to guide the society, but is also one of the most powerful unifying force in the society.

0.3. Distruptive Forces of the Traditional Societies and the Effects.

Until the 11th century when the first distruptive but also unifying force - Islamic religion, came into the territories of Nigeria, there had existed only a relative heterogeneity among the different ethnic groups. Since the religions were, more or less, the same or similar, the major differences were found in the areas of the languages. The second and third distruptive forces - Christianity and Western civilization came in to increase the barriers and heterogeneity. But it was in the process of these distruptions that the synthesis of old and the new systems evolved to become the nation Nigeria.

The problem of Nigerian politics is the problem of the accommodation of diversity in unity, heterogeneity in homogeneity, and the pluralistic in the unitary. The history of Nigerian politics has always been bewitched by this problem. Nigeria seems to be groping for her unity in the face of all the seemingly diversifying factors.

---

8. J. Wach, p. 54.

To overcome the diversifying factors which are seen as barriers, a sense of accommodation based on trust, tolerance and justice must have to be cultivated.

Nigeria must be ready to use the basic principles which had formed her origin to build her future. Such basic principles can be found in the cultural ethical norms which, hitherto, were shared by all the different ethnic groups as a result of their traditional religious experiences. These basic principles were, in the process of dialectics of evolving the nation - Nigeria, disrupted and, in many cases, replaced by principles and cultural patterns from Islam, Christianity and Western civilization.

While the analysis of Ekpo Eyo may be correct to some extent, when he said: "...in a complex society like Nigeria, i.e., a society made up of a multiplicity of ethnic groups, one is confronted with a maze of cultural alternatives which is bewildering. The question which arises out of this is, whether there really is a Nigerian culture, a kind of monolithic cultural pattern to which all Nigerians are expected to conform. The answer of course is no. In our kind of society, the pluralistic society, one cannot even reduced the various cultural units to the term of other. - Indeed the different cultural patterns are often times in opposition to another. What we often erroneously refer to as Nigerian culture is a mechanically justaposed and uncommunicating cultural tradition".[9]

---

9. Ekpo Eyo, Nigeria's Traditional Ideals, Culture as an instrument of National Unity, in: Nigeria in Transition, Kaduna, 11-13. Sept., 1979, pp. 21-27.

Eyo's view gave the impression that it would be out of place to talk of the culture of a nation which is pluralistic. The talk of a German or a Swiss culture can never imply the non-existence of heterogeneous cultural patterns among their different peoples. It is the combination of these similar cultural patterns which are perculiar and are exhibited by the peoples of a particualr nation that is generally referred to as the culture of the nation.

Inspite of the influence on the cultural patterns and traditional norms of the various ethnic groups of Nigeria since the 11th century when foreign patterns started filtering into the cultural traits of the peoples of Nigeria, there still remained what is original and common to all. That is: the deep sense of personal morality and the belief in the participative hand of God in the society forms the basis of Nigerian culture. It is a part of our culture. Although it cannot be said to be the monopoly of the Nigerians alone, yet, it does not cease to be ours too only because it exists in other cultures.

0.4. Analysis of Nigerian Nationhood - How Far?

The question of the unity of Nigeria as a real national entity had been analysed from the different points of view, - from the whole cultural, or from the point of view of history. The fact that Nigeria is a welding together of many hitherto independent ethnic entities, does not connote the fact that it is itself an "artificial entity". One can tender as an hypothesis that Nigeria is a country which can still find her unity in her heterogeneity. One notices that underneath the outward manifestations in language and custom as parts of the differnt cultural patterns, a form of general religious perception runs through all the cultural groups in Nigeria and forms the basis of their political societies.

0.5. Aim of Work

This work intend to analyse the influence of these religious p-erception in the body politic of Nigeria. It will be of interest to show the role played by relgion in the traditional political societies of the different ethnic groups. It is presumed that the politics of Nigeria can be better understood when the extent of the impact of the various traditional religious experiences which influence the politics is understood.Although different works on political science, ethnology and sociology have in one way or the other made mention of such co-relation between politics and religion in Nigeria, an exclusive scientific analysis of this phenomenon will be the other major interest of this work. That would be, to find out and structurally analyse, within the context of Nigerian politics, the relationship between the "Traditional religious" experiences and those of the new religions - Christianity and Islam. It will inquire into their influence on some of the country's principal decision-making organs and leading political figures who constituted the leading elites.

Some of the questions that would also be asked are: How does relgion influence the decisions of the political decision-makers and their whole political activities?

What role was religion assigned in the constitutions of Nigeria?

Were the roles played by the different religious groups compatible with the political expectations?

The answers to the questions can best be found, not only by analysing the history of the religions or the politics in Nigeria, but also by portraying the activities and the co-relation of the religions and politics in Nigeria.

0.6. Methodology and Hypotheses

While the aims of this work remain the exposition of the role of religion in Nigerian politics, and of course, examining the avenues through which the various religious groups have been able to make their impact on the political thought of the people, the work will be made to follow a systematized historical pattern. This will make it necessary for me to need the aid of other useful materials on the subjects.

In order to achieve these aims, the work would make abundant use of archive materials related to the historical growth of Nigeria. These materials may be in the form of documented colonial pronouncements,"Colonial Order in Council", recordings of legislative debates, reports of various Commissions of enquiry, documented statements of notable religious and political leaders, and, of course, the various Constitutions of Nigeria.

The many controversial census figures of Nigeria and some other related statistical data wil also constitute indispensable materials needed for the analytical research on Nigerian politics and the role of religion. Of utmost importance, however, will be the interview programm from which a first hand information will be extracted from those who, in one way or the other, directly or indirectly, suppositively were involved in the act of affecting the role of religion into Nigerian politics.

The second method of interview would be more comparative in outlook. Here, the results of the interviews with the direct or indirect actors will be compared with the views and experience of the third parties. The third parties in this sense would include, for example, university lecturers and professors acquainted with the trend of politics and religion in Nigeria. Also included are the works of various authors on the subject relating to politics and religion in Nigeria.

Together, these sources of information provide the material basis required for the comparative aspect of the analysis. In a work dealing with the politics and religions in Nigeria, it would be an unexcusable ommission if a detailed analysis of the traditional political structures is not carried out. This is because it is in these traditional political structures that one finds the motivations and out-going points of the modern political attitude of the Nigerians as a people. When mention is made of Nigeria as being a "nation" or an "artificial entity" one who does not know much about the background of the geographical area call "Nigeria" may be left uninformed of the basic premises required for the understanding of the "nation" and its problems.

That is why it is necessary that the path to the unification of Nigeria should be carefully portrayed as a means of analysing her problems within the context of the subject matter of this work.

The constitutional road to independence was the "playing-field" of the various religions in Nigeria, that is why a devoted attention will be given to finding out the role played by these different religious groups in the composition of the county's various constitutions till 1960.

Using the mentioned materials, the results of their analysis, and this methodology, a structural approach will be undertaken which will be directed at achieving the objectives of the work. Some hypotheses upon which this work will be extrinsically founded will perceive the fundamental religious experience of Nigerian culture, not as a divisive and negating phenomenon, but as a unifying and enriching force in national politics. But this will be possible under the condition that the intrinsic definition of religion is imbibed into politics within its perimeters of defined and constitutional activities.

This will entail allowing the areas of investigation to go beyond the superficial heterogeneous elements of Nigerian culture, which influence have to do with the body-politics of Nigeria, in order to expose the traditional religious experience as a common denominator for any relationship between the religions and politics in Nigeria.

Since the Traditional religious experience was, consciously or unconsciously, carried over into the new religions, it will be supposed that it is still possible for Nigeria and her people to find the actualization of their nationhood within the framework of the new religions.

This is, however, possible under the condition that the Nigerians are not forced to dissociate themselves completely from some of the relevant social and political virtues bequeathed them by the Traditional religious experience.

0.7. Scope and Delimitation

The history of Nigeria as a nation is filled with many momentuous events, dates and periods which mark the historicity of her existence. Anthropologists, historians and political scientists have tried to catergorize these dates and events into different periods or eras.

Some talk of the period between 1472 to 1861. This period marks the date the first Europeans set foot into the territories of Nigeria till the year when the actual colonization of the territories of Nigeria began. This period will remain indelible in the history of Nigeria because it marked the era when the able bodied children of Nigeria were sold into slavery by their own brothers in connivance with European and Arab traders. Unfortunately, Christianity and Islam seemed not to have been particularly disturbed by the inhuman trade.

The period between 1804 and 1830 is also of great interest for scholars who are interested in analysing the power structure of Northern Nigeria and its relationship with Islam. The period marks the years when the Islamic Fulanis led by Othman Dan Fodio conquered, subdued and subjugated the Hausas and the neighbouring ethnic groups under the banner of Islam.
The year 1841 is also another memorable year because it marks the beginning of the successful missionary activities undertaken by the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) in Nigeria.
Of all the memorable dates which characterize the history of Nigeria, 1914 and 1960 have much to be remembered for.
The county, Nigeria, as a national entity, was born out of the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern areas in 1914.
The nation, Nigeria, which began its life as a nation in 1914 remained, however, a colony of Britain until 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence. There are many other dates, periods or events after 1960 which are, intrinsically and historically, very important. These dates or event have been conventionally used to portion out the different eras in the history of Nigeria.
Different scholars choose the dates, events, periods or era for their academic investigatios depending on the objectives of their work. There are already very many excellent works written by notable scholars which portrayed the major historical moments in the life of the nation Nigeria. Some of these works embraced the whole history of Nigeria from the political perspective. Others prefer limiting their scope to some momentory periods. Distinguishable among those works which are all embracing in the treatment of the whole history of Nigeria till the time of writing are works like that of Alan Burns, "History of Nigeria", and Michael Crowder's, "The Story of Nigeria".

Their works are purely historical works which aimed at exposing some of the unknown intentions behind the activities of the British Colonial administration in Nigeria.
Thomas Hodgkin's "Nigeria Perspective: An Historical Anthology", pre-occupied itself with the aim of tracing the origin of the various peoples of Nigeria by re-narrating and re-constructing their pre-colonial history. The two volumes of J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder's, "The History of West Africa", are among the many scholarly works which tended to trace the history of the nation, Nigeria, beyond its pre-colonial fontiers.
Elizabeth Isichei's, "A History of Nigeria", stand out as another historical work on Nigeria which can be said to be the the result of a highly scholarly attempt to follow-up the history of Nigeria to the present time.
Most of the books mentioned are mainly historical works. There are, however, many other works which undertake to analyse the historical events in Nigeria giving them their political implications. Such works written by prominent political scientiests include Eme O. Awa's, "Federal Government in Nigeria", Walter Schwarz's, "Nigeria", Frederick Scharz (jr.)'s, "Nigeria: The Tribe, the Nation, or the Race", and James Coleman's, "Nigeria - Background to Nationalism".
These are standard works on Nigeria which succeeded in analysing her political history from the point of view of political scientists.
These works distinguish themselves from Nwabueze's, "A Constitutional History of Nigeria", or from I.O. Odumosu's, "The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development", because the former are general in the subject matter of their analysis, while the latter have particularly limited objectives.
Both groups of works differ from other works such as Patrick Ollawa's, "Demokratie und Nationale Integration in Nigeria, 1960-1965", or from Kenneth Post and Michael Vicker's, "Structure and Conflict in Nigeria, 1960-1966", because the latter did not only limit the objectives of the work, but the scope of the works were also limited to particular given periods.

When one reads works like Okwudiba Nnoli's, "Ethnic Politics in Nigeria", or Ugbana Okpu's, "Ethnic Minority Problem in Nigeria Politics, 1960-1965", one could be tempted to limit the major sources of Nigerian problem to ethnicity alone. In many works which analysed some of Nigerians political problems, little or no attention was given to religion as a strategic phenomenon in Nigerian politics.

Works which, however, made substantial effort in relating Nigerian politics to religon remained improportionately very few of which J.F.A. Ajayi's, "Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite", E.A. Ayandele's, "The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, A Political and Social Analysis", and F.K. Elechi's, "Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1857-1914", stood out most prominently.

The role of religion in Nigerian politics in one of the most important period of her life, 1914-1960, was, as such, either neglected in many works or disinterestedly treated by some authors. The years between 1914 and 1960 must be seen to have helped make Nigeria what it is today.

The constitutions and conventions which mark the history of Nigeria owe their origin to this period. This is why I find it necessary to examine and analyse Nigerian politics and the role of religion within this momentuous period left untouched by Ayandele, Elechi and Ajayi's works.

0.8. Structure of work.

It is not uncommon to hear some people, even the very educated non-Africans, ask if Nigeria is located in South America or elsewhere. It is, certainly, confusing when one remembers that there are other countries in Africa that have names which sounds like Nigeria too.
Liberia, Algeria, or even Niger, are all names of African countries which some non-Africans find hard to distinguish from each other. This is why a clarer discription of the country under consideration is not out of place.

Chapter I:

May be, because Nigeria was not a colonial power, and so was unable to enforce the study of her history, culture and religion on the world, this is why not very much was known about her, her religions, or her traditional and present pattern of govertnment by a good percentage of the world's population.
This is why I consider it appropriate and indispensable to use the first chapter of this work in creating a common ground for the non-African readers by projecting in the chapter a short historical analysis of what is necessary to be known about Nigeria as a basis for understanding her politics and the three religions which exist in Nigeria.

Chapter II:

This will try to provide answer to some far reaching questions relating to the religious attitude of Nigerians.
Why are Nigerians generally very religious?
And why is it that they tend to allow their religious zeal to influence, or affect their other social activities?

The answers to these questions would be exposed in the analyis of the traditional culture or cultures of Nigeria. In any case, more time would be devoted to analysing the traditional political structures which were in use before the intervention of the British colonial power. I will try to find out the role religion played in the different traditional political systems. It is my intention to compare these various traditional systems with the aim of exposing the ratio of the influence of religion on them. It is assumed that a clearer picture of the situtation will help us understand the attitude to religion and politics of some of the Nigerian political leaders.

Chapter III:

Knowing that Nigeria never existed as a "Nation" before the advent of British colonial administration, it will be interesting to find out the reaction of the traditional rulers, whose offices were closely related to their religions, to the secularization process which started with the advent of European traders. The reaction of these traditional rulers to the way of life introduced by the Christian missionaries and the British secular administration is also of utmost importance.

Chapter IV:

This chapter will try to analyse the process and problems involved in the act of amalgamating the systems of the various peoples under a colonial secular administration. It will also be the aim of this chapter to relate itself to chapter three by trying to expose the intrinsic attitude of the colonial government to the three religions in Nigeria.

Chapter V:

The reactions of the Nigerians,who are the products of new society created by colonialism, towards the colonial government will be the subject matter of this chapter. What were the negative or positive contributions made by the religions in terms of information, education and doctrinal influence which helped made the Nigerians react the way they did, either for or against the colonial government? This chapter will try to provide an answer to this question.

Chapter VI:

While trying to analyse the constitutional history of Nigeria in this chapter, effort will be made to find out if any of the religious groups had attempted to influence the constitutional process in any form at all. It will also find out the concessions given up by any of the religious groups for the sake of national unity.

Chapter VII:

This chapter will concern itself with finding out the role religion played in the exercise of the powers granted by the constitutions. This would mean trying to review the method and instruments used by the religions or religious groups to form a pressure group with the aim of influencing the activities and policies of the governments in Nigeria. The roles of particular Nigerian political leaders will be of much interest here.

Chapter VIII:

An attempt would be made in this chapter to give a theoretical appraisal with the aim of exposing the various relationships between the religions and the state within the context of constitutionalism and natural right. This theorectical appraisal would be used as a comparative instrument in the assessment of the quality of the role of religion in Nigerian politics.

Chapter IX:

This is the conclusive chapter which would also summarize the various points treated in the work.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INSIGHT INTO NIGERIA

1.1. Location and Physical Features

The country, Nigeria, is situated on the western half of Africa, south of the Sahara desert. She occupies an area of 923,773 square kilometres bounded on the West by the Republic of Benin, and on the North by the Republics of Niger and Chad, while on the east by the Republic of Cameroon. The southern end of Nigeria is waterd by the Atlantic Ocean, on the North of the Gulf of Guinea.

Nigeria thus lies within the latitudes 4° and 14° North of the Equator which mark her southern and northern boundaries respectively. The western and eastern boundaries touch on longitude 3° and 15° on the meridian respectively.

These make the distance from the most extreme points of the country from East to West about 1,120 kilometres and the distance from South to North ranges up to 1,040 kilometres.

The southern end of the country, which is bounded by the sandy Atlantic coast stretching about 800 kilometres, is also intercepted almost in the middle by the delta of the most important river of the country, the River Niger. The northern end of Nigerian boundary falls into the southern limits of the Sahara desert. Next bounded by both regions are areas of mangrove swamps forest which extended about 100 kilometres into the country from the southern coastal sand beach, and the savanna forest of the North. The middle of the country itself is made up of tropical forests, which, moving northwards, gradually give way to hilly areas and then to the plateau of the "Middle belt" areas with elevations ranging approximately up to 1,8oo metres.

The territory of Nigeria is blessed with many rivers of which the Niger and the Benue are the most important. The Niger with its length of about 4,169 kilometres is the third longest river of Africa. About 1,170 of the length of the Niger flows through Nigeria, entering the country through the north-western boundary.
It runs south-eastwards to be met at Lokoja by the other important river, the Benue, as tributary. From Lokoja the Niger flows about 544 kilometres southwards to empty itself into the Atlantic Ocean. The Benue itself has a length of about 790 kilometres. These two rivers contributes immensely in moulding the economic, political and social developement of Nigeria.

1.2. Climate

The temperature in Nigeria differs greatly from place to place, and fluctuates substantially between night and day.
It ranges in the northern savanna areas from about 18° as the mean minimum temperature to about 35° C,as the mean maximum temperature. The tropical forest areas and the coastal regions have temperatures which ranges from a mean maximum of about 29° C to a mean minimum of about 22° C. The minimum temperatures in Nigeria are obtained between the months of November and February, when the days are generally very hot but the nights relatively cold.
In these months, the temperature at night may fall to as low as 13° C in the northern parts of the country allowing for an average daily fluctuation range of the temperature of about 7° C. The fluctuation range of temperature in the tropical forest areas of the South is comparatively lower.

Nigeria has two major climatic seasons, the raining season and the dry season. The period of the raining season ranges from April to October at the southern end of the country with an average rainfall of about 177.8 cm a year, to a period of rainfall lasting from June to September in the far North with an average rainfall of about 50.8 cm a year:
Between these extremities exist the tropical forest areas and the highly savanna areas whose amount and extent of rainfall differ from one another, depending on their proximity to either of the extreme belts. Humidity in Nigeria is generally approximately 95 %.

1.3. Peoples and Languages

The geographical area of Nigeria contains a conglomeration of more than 300 ethnic groups. In the northern part of the country alone, Meek[1] supposed that the area is inhabited by about 250 ethnic groups. This number was further confirmed by Temples[2] account on the peoples of Northern Nigeria where he listed the various ethnic groups within the boundaries of the northern areas of Nigeria.
Mabogunje[3] in his version tried to classify Nigeria into about 416 ethnic groupings of which he considered about 341 to be occupying the northern part of Nigeria while the other 75 live within the South.

---

1. See C.K. Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, Two Vols., Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1925, See : Vol. 1, p. 19.

2. Cf. O. Temple, Notes on the Tribes Provinces Emirates and States of the Northern Privinces of Nigeria, 2ed., Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1965.

3. Cf. A. Mabogunje, Land, People and Tradition in Nigeria, in Blitz, L.f., (ed.), The Politics and Administration of Nigerian Government, London, 1965, p. 7.

Murdock[4] though, shared the opinion of Meek and Temples on the existence of about 300 ethnic groups in Nigeria, he however tried to group the various peoples together into only about 122 "tribal" groups.

Except for the ethnologist and political analysts who take the pain to examine the social and political structure of Nigeria, most of the inhabitants of the country are very ignorant of the fact of the existence of such a multiplicity of ethnic groups.

Although the Nigerian government attests to the existence of 250 ethnic groups,[5] the names of most of the minor ethnic groups have hardly featured in the political history of the country, most of them were usually grouped with their more populous neighbouring "tribes".

---

4. Cf. G.P. Murdock, The Traditional Socio-political System of Nigeria, A Introductory Survey, in: R.O. Tilman and C. Taylor, (eds.), The Nigerian Political Scene, Duke University Press, Durham, 1962, p. 5.

5. Federal Information Service, 100 Facts about Nigeria, Lagos, 1958, p. 3.

Outstanding among the ethnic groups in Nigeria are:

In Northern Nigeria:

Ethnic groups	1952/53 Census figures (in thousands)[6]
1. Hausa/ Fulani	8,511.0
2. Kanuri	1,297.8
3. Nupe	347.4
4. Tiv	769.9
5. Igala	294.4
6. Idoma	203.5
7. Gwarri	197.6
8. Igbirra	147.6
9. Birom	116.2
10. Chamba	58.0
11. Jaba	41.0
12. Sura	51.3
13. other smaller ethnic groups	4,843.5

6. Source: Compiled from Population census of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1952, Lagos, 1952/53.

In the South:

Ethnic groups	1952/53 Census figures (in thousands)
14. Igbo (including the Ika Igbo)	5,316.7
15. Efik/ Ibibio	1,572.1
16. Yoruba	4,498.3
17. Edo	452.1
18. Ekoi	121.1
19. Urhovo/Isoko	434.6
20. Ijaw (in both West and East)	353.9
21. Itsekiri	31.0
22. Other smaller groups	1.540.3

Population census of the Western region of Nigeria, 1952, Lagos, 1953-54. Population census of Eastern Nigeria, 1953, Bulletin No. 1, Lagos, 1954, See also 1952-53 census, Nigeria 1953, London, 1955. For the sake of precision I brought the statistical figures of the Western and Eastern region under the heading Southern Nigeria, thereby adding the figures of similar ethnic groups who find themselves geographically and politically in the two different regional areas.

Many of these ethnic groups are very much culturally related, inthe sense that their ways of life and religions are very similar. A vast majority of them exhibit, not only linguistic differences from one another, but they have also been influenced by their ecological, social and geographical millieu to embrace ways of life different from those of other tribes.

The languages of the ethnic groups have been classified under various linguistic families. Most Nigerian languages were classified by Greenberg[7] under the "Niger-Congo family". Most of the languages of the peoples of the South (the Yoruba, the Edo and the Igbo), and the language of the Nupe in the Middle-belt areas of Nigeria were placed under the "Kwa-sub-family group".[8]
There is also the "Benue-Congo family" of language under which "Cross River sub-family" comes. The languages of the Ibibio and Efik were classed into this group. They therefore share the same language family group with the Tiv and other ethnic groups of the Benue and Plateau areas.[9] The language of the Kanuri is classed as Nilo-Saharan, while those of the Hausa is related to the Hamitic languages of the caucasoid stock.
The language of the Hausa was thereby traced to North Africa while those of the Fulani was classified under the "Niger-Congo family group" having similarities with the Serer and Wolof languages of Senegal.[10]

---

7. Cf. J.H. Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, USA, 1955, cited in: Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, Faber and Faber, London, 1978, pp. 13-15.

8. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

9. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

10. Ibid., p. 15.

Altogether, it is assumed or estimated that Nigeria possesses only about 248 different languages[11] which fit into the three above mentioned language family groups. On this basis it becomes clearer that to split the nation on the bases of languages would also mean splitting the country into about 250 component parts. Not to do so also means the accommodation of the minority ethnic groups in regions or states inhabited by more populous major language groups. But the population figures of the ethnic groups and history have shown that there are ethnic groups who are considerably large enough to make their languages the lingua franca within their areas of domination. It was exactly this role that the Hausa language fulfilled for the people of the North, the Yoruba language for the peoples of the West, and to some extent, the Igbo language for the peoples of the East.

It would, therefore, be a mistake to assume that any of the early regional divisions of Nigeria was a completely homogeneous ethnic and linguistic unit. This mistake has always featured in the minds of some of the people in the South of Nigeria, who had, out of mistake,assumed the existence of the Hausa language as the lingua franca in the North of Nigeria to mean the ethnic and linguistic oneness of the region. Just as the Yoruba share their western areas with many other minor linguistic groups, so also do the Igbo and the Hausa share their region with other ethnic groups.

The languages of the three largest ethnic groups - Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo - were, however, officially accepted as national languages coming after the English language.

---

11. Cf. J.S. Coleman, Nigeria-Background to Nationalism, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, p. 15.

The English language is not only the lingua franca for all Nigerians, but is also the official language of the country.[12]

The situation which places English above the other ethnic languages remains very understandable considering the fact that the English language succeeded in becoming the linguistic common denominator for the many linguistic groups in Nigeria. That is why English is the medium of instruction in Nigerian educational institutions. It is the language of the civil servants, the superior courts, the press and the radio. It is the language of the elite.[13]

Life would have remained very unbearable if people were not blessed with the means of communicating withone another. Language remains one of the most essential components of a given culture. It is through the use of language that people are able to share the content of their personalities by making it understandable to one another and the outside world in the form of thoughts,opinions, anxieties and fears.

This does not mean that social understanding among peoples has to be measured by the uniformity of their languages. However, experience in a social culture has shown that understanding between peoples could also be heightened when the chances of social communication exist among them.

---

12. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, Government Printer, Enugu, 1979, Chapter V, No. 51 reads: "The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefor".

13. Cf. Frederick Schwarz, Nigeria, The Tribes, the Nation, or the Race - The Politics of Independence, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1965, p.39.

Although most peoples wish to have an easier means of communication with one another, history has shown that linguistic groups resent any effort directed at imposing a foreign language on them.
The riots in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1956, caused by the effort to give Sinhalese priority over Tamil, and the riots between the Walloons and the Flemings in Belgium in 1962[14] were brought forward by Schwarz to show the extent of bitterness which could be involved when a people were allowed to have the impression that a language is imposed on them. Attempts which were reportedly made to have one of the Nigerian languages, the Hausa, as the official language of Nigeria, unfortunately, did not meet with much understanding.[15]

The Hausa language remains, however, the most spoken language of Nigeria after English. Statistical data show that about 50 % of the Nigerian population speak the language either as the first, or as the second language.[16]
As people of different ethnic groups unschooled in the intricacies of the English language came together in the cosmopolitan cities, they were forced by social and economic necessity, either to learn the language of the dominant local tribes, or to communicate with one another in a very ungrammatical type of English called "Pidgin English".

---

14. F.A.O. Schwarz, p. 41.

15. Schwarz, p. 42.

16. Hausa was one of the official administrative language of the defunct Northern Region which accounted for 53.5 % of Nigeria population according to 1963 census figures. Cf. Federal Republic of Nigeria, Digest of Statistics, Federal Office of Statistics, Vol. 14, No. 1-2, Lagos, 1965, p. 3.

Pidgin English lacks a thorough scientific analysis. The meanings of its vocabularies vary, sometimes, from one town to the other, because the language incorporates local words which are euphemistic and euphonic in character, to build up its vocabularies.

The "Pidgin English" has, with time, developed into a language of leisure which is even spoken by the highly educated when they make jokes among themselves. It is the language of the labourers and traders who find themselves in linguistic areas outside their homes. This mode of English may rightly be considered the most widely spoken language in Nigeria and it is relatively understood by, at least, a majority of peoples who cannot speak, write, or understand the so-called "Queen's English".

When people do not understand one another, there is a tendency for them to be suspicious of one another. The situation may become worse when the various linguistic groups vary in size of population, and, to some extent, heterogeneous in their world views. Differences in languages, religions, economical patterns and geographical milieu are attributes of the Nigerian society, which should not be in any way overlooked.

When many minor ethnic entities are grouped together with a larger ethnic groups under the same administrative set-up, there was always the likelihood of some suspicions and fears of domination.[17] In Nigeria it was the persistent fear of the minor ethnic groups, which led to the periodical re-structuring of the administrative boundaries of the component regions or states of Nigeria. Some minority ethnic groups were rightly afraid of their political and cultural domination by their larger ethnic neighbours.

---

17. See Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and means of allaying them, - Willink Commission, London, 1958.

1.4. Population, Regionalism and Statism

The concept of three administrative regions in Nigeria started already in 1939. Yet, the country operated the unitary system of government until 1954.
On the 1st October 1954 the unitary colonial administration in Nigeira decided to attend to some of those intrinsic problems of the peoples relating to the enumerated differences.
Some of the differences, as we have seen, extended into such areas as differences in historical origins, ways of life, traditional political philosophy and administrative system.
In order to pacify the situation, the unitary system of government was dropped and partial autonomy was granted to each of the three administrative areas. The federal system of government was, thereby, introduced into Nigeria.
That led to the creating of regional governments for the North, east, West and the capital territory of Lagos.

Nigeria in three Regions[18]

Region	Area in km^2 (in thousands)	Population 1952/53 Census (in millions)	Population Density per km^2
North	729.815	16.840	41
West	171.524	6.087	130
East	76.364	7.218	162
Lagos	0.70	0.272	9,500
Nigeria = Total	923.773	30,417/31.2[19]	60

The statistical date on the division of the regions show that the Northern region accounted for more than 50 % of the country's population, if we rely upon the 1952/53 census figures.
The Northern region also occupied a geographical area which made her about three times larger than the other regions put together.
Such a situation, no doubt,made the region to become politically stronger than the other members of the federation combined together, in terms of representation in political offices.

18. Source: Annual Abstracts of Statistics" Lagos, "Digest of Statistic" Lagos, in: ASA, Nigeria, 1967, p. 49.

19. Owing to the controversy on the validity of the 1952/53 census figures, "31.2 millions" was agreed upon as the correct figure.

In August 1963 another region was carved out of the then Western region bringing the number of regions in the federation to four. The census figures taken in 1962/63 showed that Nigeria had a population of 55.6 millions.

Census figures for the four Regions 1962/63[20]

Region	Area in km^2 (in thousands)	Population 1962/63 (in millions)	% of total Population
North	729.815	29.80	53.5
West	78.876	10.26	18.4
East	76.364	12.395	22.3
Mid West	38.684	2.53	44.6
Lagos	0.70	0.665	1.2
Nigeria = Total	923.773	55.671	100

20. Source: ibid., in: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Nigeria, 1967, Stuttgart und Mainz. p. 49.

When the 1952/53 census figures are compared with those of 1962/63, it shows that Nigeria had an increase in population of more than 80 % within ten years, and she had an annual growth rate of about 5.7 %.[21]

As was supposed, the creation of the fourth region had, among other aims, to meet the demands of the minority ethnic groups who sort relative autonomy from the larger ethnic groups of the Western region.

With the dissolution of the regions and the subsequent division of Nigeria into 12 states on the 27th May 1967, the attendant problems which the inequality of the regions had caused was relatively solved. The creation of states also helped attend to the question of the fears of ethnic minority groups in Nigeria.

---

21. S.A. Aluko, How Many Nigerian?: An Analysis of Nigerians Census Problems, 1901-63, in: The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1965, p. 386.

Table of the official statistical Figures of the 12 States[22]

State	Head-quarter	Dominant ethnic groups	Area in km^2	Census figures (in thousands)		Population Density per km^2
				1952/53	1962/63	
Lagos	Lagos	Yoruba	3,577	510	1,444	404
Mid-West	Benin	Edo/Itsekiri	38,648	1,492	2,536	66
Benue-Plateau	Jos	Tiv/Idoma	101,538	2,295	4,009	39
Kano	Kano	Hausa/Fulani	43,072	3,398	5,776	134
Kwara	Ilorin	Yoruba/Igbirra	74,260	1,195	2,399	32
North-Central	Kaduna	Gwarri/Hausa/Fulani	70,209	2,354	4,098	58
North-Eastern	Bauchi	Chamba/Kanuri/Hausa	272,013	4,201	7,793	29
North-Western	Sokoto	Gwarri/Hausa/Fulani	168,720	3,397	5,733	34
South-Eastern	Calabar	Efik/Ibibio	28,363	1,904	3,623	128
East-Central	Enugu	Igbo	29,909	4,567	7,227	242
Rivers	Port Harcourt	Ijaw	18,091	747	1,545	85
Western	Ibadan	Yoruba	75,368	4.357	9.488	126
Nigeria	Lagos		923,773		55.6	60

22. Source: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Länderberichte: Nigeria, Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden Verlag, W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart und Mainz, 1972, p. 13.

Inspite of the accounts of the census figures, the United Nations estimate of Nigeria's population showed that Nigeria's annual growth rate was not as high as she claims:

Statistical Data showing the Disperity between the Figures:[23]

Year	Nigerian Estimate		UN Estimate*		Density per km^2
	Pop. (in millions)	Pop. in % annual growth	Pop. (in millions)	Pop. in % annual growth	
1931	19.5	--	--	--	--
1952/53	30.4	--	--	--	60
1962/63	55.6	5.7	48.7	2.5	60.3
1970	71.9	5.7	55.07	2.6	78.8
1972	79.7	3.7	59.6	2.6	--
1976	89.6	3.7	67.75	--	97.0
1979	100.0	3.7	74.59	--	108.0
1980			77.08		

23. Compiles in relation with the statistical data from: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Länderberichte, Nigeria, 1972, p. 13, and op. cit., 1981, p. 14.

* The UN Estimates are from "Nigeria" in African South of the Sahara, 1982-83, 12ed., London, p. 786.

The estimates in the table do not, however, correspond with the 1979[24] estimate figures, or with the population of 80 millions[25] which are often quoted by government official organs between 1980 and 1983.
The figure 80 million could be an estimation based on the country's 1972/73 population census figures of 79.76 million which was found unreliable and thus cancelled.[26]
Inspite of the concellation of the 1972/73 census figures, official estimations seemed to be based on it.
However, the government cannot be blamed for relying on estimations rather than just the 1963 census figures. This is because the 1963 census figures are also too obsolete and so unreliable for the 1984 Nigeria.
The estimated population figures of the 7 states later created on 3. Febr. 1976 showed that the population of Nigeria had undergone an annual growth of more than 22.6 %.
The creation of these seven extra states was to be seen as another step forward in trying to ease the problem of the differenences in the Nigerian society.

---

24. Cf. News from Nigeria, Nigerian Embassy, Vienna-Austria, (Febr./March, 1981, p. 16.

25. Federal Republic of Nigeria, Nigeria heute, Nigerian Information Centre, Bonn, West Germany, Jan./April, 1983, p. 36.

26. Cf. Wolfgang von Lonski and Theo Rauch, "Nigeira", in: Dr. Nohlen und Nüscheler (Hrsg.), Handbuch der Dritten Welt, Bd. 4, Hoffman und Campe, Ludwigsburg, 1982, p. 297.

Nigeria's nineteen States[27]

States	Dominant ethnic groups	Area in km^2	Census Estimate (in thousands) 1963	1979	Population Density per km^2
Lagos	Yoruba	3,577	2,127	3,823	1069
Bornu	Kanuri		3,229	5,804	
Gongola	Kanuri/Hausa	272,726	2,683	4,824	55
Bauchi	Kanuri		2,444	4,393	
Oyo	Yoruba		5,305	9,537	
Ogun	Yoruba	75,369	1,882	3,383	239
Ondo	Yoruba		2,845	5,114	
Niger	Nupe/Gwarri	168,720	1,219	2,192	60
Sokoto	Hausa/Fulani		4,409	7,926	
Benue	Idoma/Tiv	100,836	1,837	3,302	67
Plateau	Tiv		1,898	3,413	
Anambra	Igbo	29,909	3,051	5,484	428
Imo	Igbo		4,069	7,315	
Bendel	Edo	38,648	2,789	5,014	130
Kaduna	Hausa	70,209	4,014	7,215	103
Cross River	Efik/Ibibio	28,363	2,867	5,154	182
Kwara	Yoruba	74,260	1,275	2,292	31
Kano	Hausa	43,072	6,074	10,918	253
River	Ijaw	18,091	1,653	2,972	164
			55,7	100,07	108

27. Source: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Länderberichte, Nigeria, 1981, p. 15

The problems relating to the statistical figures continue to attract the attention oa any scholar of Nigerian politics. This is because the history of Nigerian politics has remained, in some respect, the history of her peoples in relations to their numbers.

For one to fully understand Nigerian politics one must see these statistical data in relationship with the importance they played in the political, religious, economical and social life of each of the ethnic groups, states, or regions. Is population might? The answer may be "Yes" in Nigeria, considering the political importance attached to the population figures.

Between October 1960 and 6th February 1976 the country had continually tried to search out ways of accommodating the fears of minority ethnic groups by carving out more states from the larger groups. Yet, the crave for states by each of the 250 officially recognised ethnic groups of Nigeria remaind unsatisfied.

Each of the ethnic groups see itself as a political unity in itself, and wil want to gain some political autonomy. But this thirst for autonomy cannot even be satisfied by the creation of 250 states.

This is because Nigerian politics is not just influenced by the ethnic consciousness of her peoples alone, but also by the consciousness of their religious affinity.

In order to understand the role religion play in Nigerian politics, it will then be necessary for us to consider the various religions in Nigeria with the aim of understanding their relationship with politics.

1.5. Religions in Nigeria

Results of sociological investigations show that religion has always remained the fundament of most African political societies.[28] The same can be said of religion in relation to the Nigerian societies. The religious activities.of the societies form the linking points between the spiritual hopes of the people and hte material life of the cultural society. Religion as an ontological and metaphysical phenomenon belongs to the innermost consciousness of life and continues to remain a fact of time and history. It lays itself bare to the searching nature of man and society with promises of a spiritual salvation. The search for the spiritual having taken a collective nature possesses a sociological capacity of effecting control among the members of a given society[29] as one of its qualities.

1.5.1. The Traditional Religions

Traditional religions in Nigeria have distinguished itself very prominently as the religion of the people before the advent of other religions into Nigeria.

---

28. Cf. J.S. Mbiti, Intoduction to African Religion, London, 1975.

29. Cf. Johnson Wach, Sociology of Religion, University of Chicago, 1948, See also Smith, W. Cautwell, The Meaning and End of Religion, Mentor Bode, 1964.
See also A.C. Bouquet, Man and Deity, Cambridge, 1933.

Traditional religon played a very effective role as a unifying factor in the administrative structure of the different traditional societies.[30]
By virtue of birth into a traditional village community, one inherits the religious belief of that community. One does not need to be converted into a religion of the community, rather the very fact of birth entrusts a right of membership into the religion which requires of the member to share in the religious aspirations and moral goals of the community.

The social character of Traditional religion, as would be found in most African traditonal societies where the traditional religion still play a substantial role, demands an unalloyed commitment to the religon from the members. The Traditional religion can, thus, not be considered just as a personal affair in the sense of its demanding only a personal relatonship between the individual and his God. It is also the religious demand of the society that each member of the community has to be obliged and bounded by the norms of the religion.
Such obligation, sometimes, are unlimited and can extend even into the personal lives of the individual.[31] Yet, the religion gives ample room for individualism. This characteristic may not be perculiar to Traditional religion.

---

30. The roles played by religion in the traditonal political structure of the different tribes of Nigeria are shown in another chapter of this work. See also Bolaji Idowu, African Traditional Religion, London, 1973.

31. J.S. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion, p. 13.

But when we take into consideration that it is not just the Traditional religion of different peoples who are brought together by some sort of theological or ontological conviction but a religon within which its members are delimited by birth into the religious group, and they see their destiny within the perimeters of the religion, we can then see what makes Traditional religion different from other religions. Because of the interwoven nature of the religion with the cultural and societal destiny of the whole members of the community, there seemednot to be any point differentiating between the sacred nature of religion and the secular need of the community. It is only on the bases of this understanding can one explain the fact that the Traditional religion of a given people was and remains the meeting point of the society. Political, economical and social aspiration found their realization and explanations within the concept and categories of the religion.[32]

The question which constitutes some problems for the students of African Traditional religion is how to classify the religions of the different traditional groups that exist in a given area. Taking the Nigerian example, one will notice that the Traditional religion is so parochialized in its extention that some times a particular form of Traditional religion can only be noticed among a small group of people.

---

32. J.S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, pp. 6-7.
The interwoven nature of the religious and the secular activities in the African traditional society was equally pointed out by Kaden who termed the relationship as a form of "cross pressure". See Wolfgang Kaden, Das nigerianische Experiment, ... ,Hannover, 1967, pp. 19-21.

In that case, the problem remained whether these different religions have to be grouped as one religion or should be seen as separate religions.[33]
All the same, there exist many characteristic features of the Traditional religons which are common to all the Traditional religions irrespective of the ethnic groups that practise them. Among such characteristics is the community nature of Traditional religion.

1.5.1.1. Traditional Religion in the Face of Christianity and Islam

Christianity and Islam met the Traditional religon at a stage where the belief in God and his control of the society appeared to be the only answer to the unexplicable difficulties which confronted the societies.
While the belief in the creating God formed the fundament of the belief, recourse was made to this God through deities or spirits believed to be agents of the God.[34]
These agents are believed to have direct responsibilities for the affairs of the world and the people. The affairs of the people in this sense lie in the realms of their economic needs, their administrative set-up, the ontological fears and threir hopes. The responsibilities ascribed to these deities also made their importance, to a certain extent to overshow the awareness of the existence of the creating God.

---

33. Cf. M.T. Chukwuma, Possibilities of an African Christianity, Innsbruck, 1982. Also see J.S. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion, London, 1975.

34. E. Bolaji Idowu, op.cit., p. 170.

Under such situation God was assumed to be remotely removed from the people.[35]
The lower deities, who are believed to be in closer contact with the people cared also more for their problems.
The question of leadership and the political goal of a people could also be seen in many communities to be centred around some of such deities. As such, the blessings of these deities would be needed in chosing the administrative heads and in the execution of political functions.

It is not uncommon for the courts of kings to be strongly connected to the worship of particular deities who are closely related to the functioning of the politicul structure. Examples of such can be found among the Obas of the Yorubas,[36] the Oba of Benin [37] and the Obi of Onitsha.[38]
Among certain communities the influence of dead ancestors still persisted and were allowed to play substantial role in the political set-up. This phenomenon is based on the belief that the dead ancestors, who have a religious meaning to their society , remain members of the society.
Their spirits are believed to form part and parcel of the religion of the society. Their role is most pronounced in the judical system. Among the Igbos, for example, the spirit of dead ancestors are believed to be of great assistance in the maintainance of order in the community.[39]

---

35. G. Parinder, West African Religion, London, Epworth Press, 1969, pp. 13-16, see also B.E. Idowu, African Traditional Religion, SCM Press, London, 1973, pp. 169-172.

36. Cf. D. Forde, The Yoruba speaking Peoples of Soth-Western Nigeria, London, 1951.

37. Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp. 100-101.

38. See also I. Nzimiro, Studies in Igbo Political Society, London, 1972, pp. 43 ff.

39. Cf. Chinua Achebe, Things Fall Apart, London, 1971.

This concept is shared by other ethnic communities. The regulations of the societies were not only legally binding, but also have their religious and moral implications too. As a matter of fact, a really strong difference did not exist between breaking a religious law and offending against the norms of the community. Trimingham summarizes the importance of religion in the African traditional society by just saying "Religion and Society are one".[40]
Islam and Christianity in search of converts for the regions, live together with the Traditional religion in such societies, where religion formed the springboard into all other aspects of life in the community.
The western system of Government which qualitatively admit the separation between the power, have now to operate in such societies where the divisive categories between the religous and the political were non-existent.

1.5.1.2. Acculturation

Even though today only a few millions of Nigerians can be counted as practising adherents of the Traditional religion, it is not uncommon to notice the nominal Christians or Muslims performing some traditional ritual worships.[41]

---

40. J.S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 7. Cf. also G.T. Basden, Niger Igbos, London, 1958, or N.Q. King, Religions of Africa, Herper & Row, New York, 1970.

41. Cf. Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 29, Also see J.S. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion, p. 28.

Such secretive admiration for aspects of the traditional culture connected with the Traditional religions is most noticable among the converted Nigerian christians. This is the result of the unconstructive process of "adaption" or "acculturation",[42] which earlier was overtly lacking in the type Christianity allowed in Nigeria.

Some Christian denominations have continually tried to correct this mistake. The process of "acculturating" and "accomodating" some important aspects of the Traditional religion into Christianity occured earlier and more successfully in the Islamic religion. This also helped cement the confidence of the Muslims to their religion.[43]

It is outstanding to learn that among the Muslim students from the northern areas of Nigeria dominated by Islam who were asked whether they knew if any Traditional religion had existed in their village before the advent of Islam, only 17 students of the 200 students questioned were aware of the existence of the Traditional religion in their village before the advent of Islam.

---

42. See Aylward Shorter, African Christian Theology, London, 1975, p. 147. Also Shorter, African Culture and Christian Church. The mean of these expression are elaborate handled in these books. Also in Chukwuma, Possibilities of African Christianities, pp. 102 ff.

43. Mbiti, ibid., p. 28.

Was there a Traditional religion in your village before Islam?[44]

	Yes	No	Do not know
1. Government Secondary School Mani	15	76	9
2. Government College Katsina	2	92	6
Total = 200	17	168	15

As would be seen in the treatment of the other religion, Islam could be seen as a religion which did not demand from her new converts in Nigeria an abrupt discontinutiy with their culture and the Traditional religion.
Instead, Islam took advantage of the peoples religious world-view to build itself comfortably into the new society.
Christianity, on the other hand, seemed to have maintained stricter missionary principles some of which looked very foreign to the early Nigerian members.[45]
Inspite of the achievements of the western system of Government existing in Nigeria, the role of the Traditional religions remained generally very pronounce in Nigerian society and in particular in the politics of Nigeria.
Many of the political elites of Nigeria still pay unaffected interest to the Traditional religion.

---

44. Source: Questionaire conducted by Michael Chukwuma, (1978/79). The result of this questionaire cannot be assumed to represent the overall knowledge of Nigerian Muslims.

45. Cf. also J.S. Mbiti, ibid., p. 39.

Many of the political elites of Nigeria still pay unaffected interest to the Traditional religion. This phenomenal fact had given its colouring to the political history of Nigeria, especially in such issues where the religious divisions or denominational beliefs were made to the political decision-making proccesses of the country.

1.5.2. Islam

Like in many areas of other West African countries,south of the Sahara desert, the northern end of the geographical areas of Nigeria were among those parts of Africa which came under the influence of the Islamic religion within the first 500 years of the existence of the religion. The histories of the old empires of West Africa, such as Sudan, Songhai,Timbuktu, Mali and Ghana were very much characterized by the history of the influence of the Islamic religion on these ancient kingdoms of West Africa.

As early as the 11th century Islam had found its way into the Kanem Bornu empire which is within the geographical areas of today's Nigeria. As the Mai of Kanem,Umme Jilmi,who reigned between 1085 to 1097, was converted to Islam, he helped in the rapid spread of the religion to areas within his domination.[46] Islam later found its way into the Hausa state of Kano only around the 14th century.[47]

---

46. Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp. 21, 68-70.

47. Hodgkin , p. 75.

As usual, the convertion of the kings helped in the rapid spread of the religion among his subjects. With the early arrival of Islam in the 11th century, it became the first foreign religion to come into the geographical boundaries of Nigeria. Christianity made her first attempts only between the 15th and 16th centuries.[48] This is why Christianity is referred to as the second foreign religion of Nigeria. The spread of the religion within the Hausa states[49] and Bornu empire was rather gradual, tactical and peaceful until the Jihad of Othman dan Fodio.[50] Othman succeeded in spreading the religion into through the use of force and persuasion into most of the other parts of Nigeria. The influence of the jihad extended to most areas which were later to be known as the Northern Nigeria.[51]

---

48. A.O. Makozi and G.J. Afolabi Ojo, The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, p.3. See also Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, p.3. Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 48-58 contains an account of the earliest attempt to bring in Christianity into Nigeria.

49. A more detailed account on the Hausa States will be produced in the second chapter of this work.

50. The account of Dan Fodio's jihad will also be discussed under the aspect showing how the Hausa states were conquered, and the coming into being of the Hausa/Fulani Sokoto empire. This will be seen in the next chapter.

51. See Alan Burns, The History of Nigeria, 45. See also Michael Crowder, The story of Nigeria, pp. 69-83. Crowder, under the heading "The Holy War of Usman dan Fodio (1804-30)" treated issue of the spread of Islam among the many tribes of the Northern Nigeria. He also tried to examine the political implications of the holy war.

1.5.2.1. Appealing Qualities of Islam

Although most of the gains in followship recorded by Islam in Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular had been attributed to the "jihadic" or aggressive nature of the religion,[52] one should not,however, be blind so some great accommodating qualities which the Islamic religion possesses. These qualities were founded very appealing to the traditional worshippers of Nigeria who took to the religion.
Just like the traditional religions of most African peoples, Islam is a religion which is, in itself, a way of life in a complete whole and does not admit the dichotomy between the sacred and the sacular.[53]
Its principles assert themselves into all the facets of the life of its followers. A characteristic found more elaborate in the Traditional religion.

---

52. Cf. Fajana and Biggs, Nigeria in History, pp. 159-162.

53. Soubhi Al-Saleh says: "Islam als Religion begnügt sich nicht damit, nur das im strikten, moralische und spirituelle Leben bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten zu regeln. Er zeichnet vielmehr den Weg vor, der in den sozialen, ja sogar in den politischen und ökonomischen Verhältnissen einzuschlagen ist. Da diese Religion sich direkt an die Menschen richtet, trägt sie für deren Seelenheil ebenso Sorge, wie sie für ihre Belang eintritt und ihr irdisches Leben organisiert. So vermag sie gleichzeitig ein religiöses dogmatisches System in ein Lebenssystem von beträchtlichem Reichtum an politischen und sozialen Ausdrucksformen darzustellen".
Soubhi Al-Saleh, Politische und Gesellschaftliche Formen des religiösen Auftrages, in: M.S. Abdullah, U.A. (Hrsg.), Der Glaube in Kultur, Recht und Politik, Mainz, 1982, p. 74.

The African Traditional religious worshippers were used to such religions whose doctrines have stipulations for every aspect of their life, yet, allowing them their individualities in the social and ritual practices.
Most African Traditional religions thought of God as an incomprehensible being far remote from them and only to be reached through the minor deities. There ethnic groups were free to choose the method of worship most convenient for them.
The theological concept of Allah in the Islamic religion seemed to qualify very well for the concept of God which exists in Traditional religions. In Islam, God is as well considered incomprehensible, yet, places were made in the belief for the plurality of spirits and for magics.[54]

The Islamic religion also allowed its early worshippers to incorporate their various traditional ideas into the new found religion, thereby, making the Islamic religion meaningful to converts in their traditional concepts.
Mbiti remarked that those converted, or forced into the Islamic relgion "did not immediately abandon their traditional religion ... In some places it has taken several centuries for African Muslims to leave many, but not all, of their African religious ideas and practices. Often they have only mixed Islam with their traditional religion".[55]
This could explain why the Nigerian Muslims feel comfortably at home with their new religion to the extent that the new generation of Nigerian Muslims scarcely remembered that their fore-fathers had practised other religions other than Islam.[56]

---

54. J. Spencer, Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, pp. 51-52.

55. Mbiti, Intoduction to African Religion, p. 28.

56. See the result of questionaire: footnote 41.

Trimingham also made reference to this attitude of Islam when he took account of the accommodative attitude of Islam towards other traditional religions. He pointed out that Islam, by not immediately forcing the followers to abandon aspects of religions and culture, or demanding"a violent break with their past",[57] succeeding in winning the confidence of the converts.

Trimingham said: "It is true that it (Islam) possesses a body of legal regulations affecting every sphere of life which might be expected to conflict with local custom, yet, the examination of social forms shows that many Islamic elements fall within the framework of African customare law...."[58]

This attitude of Islam in relationship to traditional culture seem to give Islam a traditional place of preference in many African societies. This become more appartent when Islam is compared with Christianity which was and is looked upon as an exploitative and foreign religion.This assertion must, however, be corrected because, just as the first Portugese sailors who arrived in Benin in 1472 were motivated not only by their missionary zeal to convert the people to Christianity, but also had commercial interests, research has also shown that the Islamic wars were not unconnected with political and economic ambitions with aim of exploiting others.[59]

The advantage which Islam had over Christianity was that Islam made more use of native agents as missionaries. The native or African agents made used their economic position to lure the town inhabitants of the various places into the religion.

---

57. J. Spencer, Trimingham, op. cit., p. 30.

58. Ibid., p.30.

59. See the "Al-Kanam-Sello correspondent" in: Hodgkin, pp. 198-215. Also see Fajana and Biggs, p. 191.

The Islamic missionaries who, in some cases, were traders themselves travelled mostly to populated commercial centres were they found influencial traders ready to make religious concessions for economic gains.[60]
Such converted Muslims, in very many cases, were automatically asigned the task of spreading the religion to the people around their own areas.

The Islamic proselytes made consideration achievement in the areas of Northern Nigeria because of the existing traditional political and social conditions. The hierarchically structured systems of government headed by Monarchs[61] were readily used by Islam for the propagation of the religion.
The Islamic missionaries wittingly set their eyes on the Monarchs and the immediate subjects as the first objects of their mission. On gaining the ears of the Monarch either as political and spiritual advisers, teachers or assistants, they gradual and successfully turned the whole dominion to their faith with the support of the royal courts.

Islam being a religion which has no elaborate hierarchically structured system of priesthood, nor a complicate liturgical procedure, it easily found its way into the depth of the Nigerian society. With its accommodative qualities, which, not only allowed for the practice of some of the peoples traditional culture, but also tried to adapt these culture into Islam by "Islamizing" them, it readily displaced or substituted the Traditional religions of most of the ethnic groups of Northern Nigeria.

---

60. Cf. Frederick Schwarz (Jr.), Nigeria, pp. 46-53.

61. Cf. Temple, Native Races and their Rulers, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1968. See also E.D. Morel, Nigeria - Its Peoples and Its Problems, London, 1968.

One would not have to forget the fact that some Islamic dogmatic principles already existed in the cultures of the African society. Such similarity could be seen in the area of the Islamic family laws, which in no way can be considered very foreign to some aspects of Nigerian culture. The same can be said of the general religious attitude to life introduced by Islam. In Islamic teaching, the providential hands of God was seen in the formation of man's destiny.[62]
This is not very different from the concept of life which is found in the Traditional religion.
Islam even helped to strengthen some of the people's traditional laws, such as: obedience to elders, teachers and kings. It posited obligatory moral sanctions as well as legal punishment for the delinquents, thereby, supporting the traditional laws.

1.5.2.2. Islam in Southern Nigeria

The results of the various controversial census figures show that about 45 % Of Nigerians are Muslims with the concentration of the followers located in the Northern areas of Nigeria. These were the areas mostly affected by Othman dan Fodio's "jihad".

---

62. Islam teaches that "God has decreed one's status in the world, and resignation to one's lot is a virtue,...." Trimingham, p. 184. This explains the very contended attitude noticed among the Muslim underprivileged class in the areas highly influenced by Islam. Whereby the rich or the aristocratic class are considered to have been made so by Allah, whereas the poor and destitude have to contend themselves with their lot.

Population according to religious affiliation[63]

	1952/53 Census figures (thousands)	%	1962/63 Census figures (thousands)	%	1972/73[64] Census figures (thousands)	%
Traditional Religion	10,540	33.8	10,100	18.2	12,900	18.4
Islam	13,794	44.3	26,200	47.2	33,200	47.1
Christianity	6,821	21.9	19,200[65]	34.6	24,300	34.5

Fortunately or unfortunately, the 19th century jihad was halted before it reached the southern end of the country. Many reasons had been put forward postulated for the relative failure of the jihad to extend it influence to the peoples of the south-eastern areas of Nigeria.

63. Source: ASA, Nigeria, 1972, p. 15, and ASA, Nigeria, 1983, p. 16.

64. Since the 1972/73 census figures were cancelled by the Federal Military Government, the official figures quoted remained those of the 1962/63 census.

65. The Catholic and Protestant churches protested against the figure 19.2 millions, claiming that the Christian followship in Nigeria numbered about 2.5 millions. ASA, Nigeria, 1972, p. 15.

Among such reasons were those which considered the social and political structures of the ethnic groups in the south-eastern areas of Nigeria[66] as being very unsuitable for the rapid propagation of Islam. The Islamic missionaries were used to mass conversion of a people through the conversion of their kings. In the areas of South-eastern Nigeria where such strictly hierarchical political systems of administration were, more or less, non-existent, Islam found it difficult to any substantial impact in the areas. The geographical climate of the tropical regions of the south-eastern areas was also considered to have militated against the success of a jihad in that areas of Nigeria. Although the south-western areas lie within the tropics too, and was also supposed to have been climatically difficult for the penetration of Islam, yet, Islam did succeeded among the Yorubas. This success was possible, probably, because of the Yoruba political system which was monarchical and so constituted a good condition for the penetration of Islam.

Inspite of the monarchical system of the Yoruba, Islam cannot be said to have made such great impact on the Yoruba[67] as it did among the tribes of the northern areas of Nigeria. There exist some noticable difference in world-view between the Muslims of the North and the West. Whereas Islam was seemingly intolerant to other religions in the North by apparently constituting itself the state religion, in the West, Islam was more tolerant toward the other religions in the area.[68]

---

66. The difference in the traditional political systems of the various tribes of Nigeria can be seen in the second chapter of this work.

67. Except for the Yorubas of Ilorin whose kingdom was affected by the jihad and a Fulani imposed on them as king.

68. Islam in the western region was more tolerant to other religions most probably because the Muslims there were peacefully converted, or because they constitute only a minority in a region plagued by many other religious groups.

In both areas, however, some Muslims have always seen themselves as the only bearer of the true religion and belief, in which case, the Christians and the Traditional religion worshippers were regarded as non-believers.[69]
The history of Nigeria shows that it was on the bases of the intolerance attitude of some Muslims toward other religions in her early stages in Nigerian history that made some Islamic kings, in connivance with Arab traders, to depopulate thousands of their neighbours into slavery.
The crime of these neighbours was that they were no Muslims.

It is noteworthy, however, that the Muslims in modern Nigeria have shown a considerable development in their readiness to tolerate peoples of other religious belief other than Islam. Just like Christianity in her early stages of her development, Islam too is proud to arrogate to it the monopoly of the highest knowledge of God. Although the theological and scientific insight into man in relationship to his creator should have shown Islam and Christianity that the pluralistic nature of the society demands that difference in opinions and world-views should be seen as an intrinsic component part of the nature of the human being and his society.
Islam, however, being a religion which does not easily want to admit of the dichotomy between the purely sacred nature of the society and the secular aspects of it, has, just as the Traditional religion and even Christianity to some extent, made a greater impact on the Nigerian Muslim political elites and on the political history of Nigeria as a whole.

---

69. See A. Obafemi, Path to Nigerian Freedom, London, 1947, p. 51.

Since the northern areas of Nigeria occupies more than 2/3 the total geographical area of Nigeria, and accounts for about 50 % of Nigeria's total population, it will be interesting to see how these areas of the nation, which have the Islamic religion as an intergral part of their political structures, integrated themselves with the southern areas of Nigeria where the dichotomy between the religious and political have been marked out through the influence of Christianity and the coming of the colonial government.

1.5.3. Christianity

Nigeria has developed into a country plagued by scores of Christian religious denominations or sects. All these religious denominations have the belief in Christ as a common denominator. Many of them, however, share a universal followship in the sense that they are international and are, more or less, world-wide represented. Some have their representation only within the country or with few membership outside the nation. Others are just Christian groups who broke away from other denominations.

Apart from the Christian denominations which have their origin in Nigeria itself, many of the major Christian denominations such as the Roman Catholic, the Anglicans, the Baptist, the Presbyteranians, the Mothodist have been brought into Nigeria from Europe. They are different from those Christian denominations like the "Aladura" or the "Cherubim" which were founded in Nigeria by Nigerians.

1.5.3.1. Evangelization in the 15th Century

Unlike Islam which arrived into the territories of Nigeria in the 11th century, and was introduced by Arabic and African Islamic agents, the Christianization of Nigeria was a by-effect of the commercial explorative attempts of the Portugese 400 years after Islam had already arrived in Nigeria.
The first Christianization attempt in the history of Nigeria occurred around 1472 when an exploratory team of Portugese under Ruy de Sequeira visited the Benin kingdom during the reign of Oba Ewuare.[54]
The Portugese who were on a commercial mission as agents of the Portugese Monarch saw the Christianization of the kings and people of Benin as a political and economic strategy for the achievement of their aim of winning the co-operation of the natives in order to make the enhancement of their commercial venture possible.
Christianity was later seen as a powerful instrument of putting a stop to the monopoly of African trade enjoyed by the Arab Muslims. The conversion to Christianity of powerful kings in the South of the Sahara, it was thought, would play the same role for Christian merchants, which was played by the Muslim kings of the Hausa states[55] for the Arab traders.

The Muslim kings were instrumental to the rapid spread of Islam in their areas of dominance. Unlike some of the Islamic missionaries who, as a missionary strategy, subordinated themselves to the Hausa kings as spiritual and political advisers, reachers and priests, the Portugese 'missionary-merchants' placed commerce and its lurying advantages above evangelization.

---

54. Cf. Jacob U. Egharevba, A Short History of Benin, 2nd, Ed., 1953, pp. 15 ff.

55. Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 50 ff.

The Benin kings too were of course attracted to the advantages of the European merchandise and only saw Christianity as a mere means of attaining their ends. They, thus, responded anxiously and eagerly to the desires of the Portugese. One can, however, correctly conclude that the Christian faith was clothed with enticing gifts for the kings as bate in order to lure them and their people into Christianity. Unfortunately, that was not the only mistake.

When the first set of missionaries came to Benin, they started their missionary activities by classifying the Traditional religion and culture of the people as heresies, idolatrous and fetish.[56]
They expressed the views of replacing the cultural structure of the people with a"more superior civilization and religion". This had, of course, its repercursion on the attitude of the people to Christianity. Initial successes were, all the same, registered by the Portugese missionaries to Benin and Warri. Beside erecting their merchandise stores, they also built churches and inaugurated a missionary activity[57] which waxed stronger during the reign of Oba Esigie, especially at the early part of the 16th century.
Oba Esigie succeeded in winning the favour of the king of Portugal. Ambassadors and gifts were exchanged between both kingdoms which helped cement their commercial and religious relationship.[58]

---

56. Cf. Egharevba, pp. 27 ff.

57. Hodgkin, ibid., pp. 27 f, also see Burns, p. 63.

58. Ibid., pp. 27 f.

This fact is attested to, judging from the letter of 20th October 1516 sent from Benin to the King Manuel of Portugal[59] reporting the contentment of the king and people of Benin with Christianity. This success, in turn, scored for Portugal, the Papal Bull, which gave them the monopoly of commerce and evangelization in that region of Africa. The monopoly, however, did not last so long. Other European nationalities wanted also a taste of the lucreative commercial advantages which accrued to the Portugese from the trade in Benin.

The Portugese trade monopoly in the area was, therefore, endangered by the visits to Benin of English commercial adventurists, James Welsh and his group[60] in 1588. The visit of the English was followed by that of the Dutch[61] who arrived Benin in the early parts of the 17th century. The missionary aspect of the Portugese activities in Benin seemed also to be challenged by the presence of the Italian Cappuccino missionaries who set up a mission for training Christian workers in Sao Tome from where they made inccessant missionary incursions into Benin and Warri.[62] The mission in Sao Tome, thereby, had the function of caterring also for the training of missionary workers who were expected to evangelize Nigeria. Various reasons contributed to the eventual failure of the effort of the Portugese to Christianize that part of Nigeria. Among the most notable included the apparent failure of the Portugese to cultivate enough sympathetic attitude towards the cultural affinities of the evangelized people of Benin.

---

59. The content of the letter contained in: Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, pp. 99-100-

60. Egharevba, p. 33, see also the account in Hodgkin, ibid., pp. 107-110

61. Hodgkin, ibid., pp. 119-122, see also Burns, op. cit., pp. 63-67.

62. Martin Bane, Catholic Pioneers of West Africa, 1956, pp.147f

Not only was the Nigerian culture treated with disdain and classified an "inferior culture", but the Traditional religion was seen, unfortunately and erroneously, as "defils-worship". The Portugese thereby gave no room for any reasonable compromise between Christianity and Nigerian culture or the religion. They, rather, demanded of the people a more or less total break from their ways of life in order to be able to embrace Christianity. It was this initial mistake which made it difficult for them to make any substantial break through in their effort to convert the Obas of Benin.[63]

Although an Oba allowed his son and some members of his court to become Christian, the primary objective of the Oba was the political and commercial advantages which will accrued from such relationship. There exist many evidences to buttress the fact that the primary objective of the Portugese adventure to Benin was commerce.[64]

This goal seemed also to have overshadowed the whole missionary activities of the Portugese. It is assumed that this was one of the reasons why the early Portugese missionaries could not have successfully extricated themselves from being tagged accomplices to the lucreative slave-trade.

They even helped provide suitable Christian dogmatic arguments[65] to justify the crime. The process of evangelization in Nigeria was to a great extent, also, disturbed by the climatic difficulties which led to the death of many of the missionaries.

---

63. See Hodgkin, pp. 138 ff. Hodgkin narrate the story of an Oba who was given a "white wife" in order to convert him to Christianity.

64. Cf. Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 62.

65. Cf. John R. Spear, The American Slave Trade, p. 40, quoted in Burns, ibid., p. 65. Burns reported that some of the ships transporting the slaves bore the name "Jesus" since slavery was not against "the word of God". See also Crowder, op.cit., p. 54.

One should not fail to mention the handicap posed by the barrier in linguistic communication which existed between the Portugese missionaries and their Nigerian Christian.
The Portugese made no known reasonable and appreciable effort to make the Christian faith something worth comprehensible to the people in their native language. Portugese which was the language of the foreigners remained the language of the faith. This gave the people the impression that the religion was foreign just like the Portugese language. Implicitly, the foreign religion had to be set aside almost immediately after the foreign people and their foreign language turned their back away. In the same way that only a faint memory of the Portugese language remained after they left, so was it too with the Christian religion. After the Portugese left, traits of the misunderstood symbols persisted in the minds of the natives.

1.5.3.2. The Second Trial

A more constructive and better coordinated evangelization of Nigeria was initiated after the missionary cum commercial activities of the Portugeses in Benin and Warri had gained the attention of Rome. This followed the establishment in 1622 of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Vatican as an arm of Catholic Vatican Curia.
It was this congregation which assigned the areas of Benin for evangelization to the Spanish Cappuchinians. The Cappuchinians, under the leadership of Pater Angel de Valencio, with a letter from the Pope to the Oba of Benin, arrived at Benin 1651 to carry on the missionary works began by the Portugese.

While these various attempts to christianize the southern end of Nigeria was going on, missionaries of the Belgium Franciscan Order were also trying to penetrate into Nigeria through the northern borders of the country.

The attempts made by Brother Peter Farde in 1688 to evangelize the North was met with no success. So also was the later attempt to implant Christianity into the Bornu kingdom by the Franciscan Fathers, Carlo de Genova and Severino da Salista.[66] Non of these early attempts to evangelize the North was successful.

The Franciscan missionaries entered Bornu in 1710 from their Tripoli mission house. Their zeal to evangelize the people of the Sahara desert was forced to an end by their sudden death at Katsina in 1711.

Missionary work of evangelizing Nigeria between the 15th and 18th centuries was as a whole, greatly disturbed by the preoccupation of most of the European nations with the lucreative slave-trade[67] which attained its height within this period. The slave-trade to a great extent, had the direct or indirect approval of the missionaries, and their churches.[68]

---

66. P.E.H. Hair, "Guide to Records of Early West African Missions", in: Journal of Religion in Africa, vol. 1, No. 2, 1967.

67. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885, p.1. See also Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 63.

68. John R. Spears, The American Slave Trade, p. 40, quoted in Burns, p. 65. The account of the decisions of the Protestant Church Synod held in France in 1637 was reported by Burns. The synod saw the slave-trade as morally justifiable because it was no where condemned in the word of God. Other Christian denominations justified slave-trade by claiming that the "ungodly" people of Africa are being redeemed from their "devil worship" through the trade, so that the slave may attain the knowledge and blessing of God.

Nevertheless, were other philanthropists who had better consciences and saw the evil of the trade, even though christian salvation was proposed as a tangible reason to justify such trade.[69] It could, however, be possible to exonerate the complicity of early missionaries since they depend indirectly on the financial gains of the slave-trade for their missionary activities. Nor could the missionaries help not depending on the only means of transportion provided by the slave-merchants for the needed communication with the mission lands.
One should not as well forget the fact that the missionary activities of this period were an indirect representation of the political and commercial interests of the nations whose missionary citizen were engaged in these areas. On that ground, the lost of commercial and political interest of a particular European nations in an area often led to the abandonment of the Christian missions already established.[70]

The definition of "slavery" gain a humane juridical évaluation with the case of the run-away slave, Sommersett, which was brought before the British court of law by Granville Sharp. Sharp prayed the Chief Justice Mansfield to declare Sommersett free.
The success of this case led to the declaration that a slave was deemed free on setting foot on the British soil. That judicial statement marked the beginning of the waves of crusades for the abolition of the slave-trade.

---

69. Burns, op.cit., p. 65.

70. Ibid., p. 63.

Many philanthropists rightly saw slavery as a contradiction to true Christianity and humanity.[71]
With the formation in 1787 of "the Society for the Abolition of Slave Trade in Britain", Granville Sharp's judicial success took a political turn. He was encouraged by the unyielding assistance of William Wilberforce who was, at the time of the crusade, also a member of the British parliament. It was not an easy task for Wilberforce and his group to gain support of the required number of parliamentarians in order to put accross their ideas in parliament. Probably, because British economy was thought to have rested on the trade, most business minded British were not very ready to give up the lucreative but inhuman trade.

Because of the shift in trade interest which resulted from the changes in the economy of the late 18th century Europe, British growing industries needed more of raw materials for the industries rather than slaves. As a result of the changes, the replacement of slave-trade with trade in raw material from the hinterlands of Nigeria and the West African coastal areas was seen as a more economically viable and honourable alternative.[73]

---

71. See Reginald Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement, London, 1933, pp. 33 ff. See also A. Falconbridge, An Account of Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa, London, 1788, Falconbridge gave in his report a detailed account of the inhuman treatment meted out on the slaves by their owners. William Bosman's "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea", (English trans.), London, 1705, pp. 364, quoted in Burns, p. 68, reported also of the cruelty which the slaves had to put up with during the course of their transportation from Africa to the slave-markets in Europe and America.

72. Cf. Eric William, Capitalism and Slavery, London, 1964.

73. K.O. Dike, op.cit., p. 12.

This was probably, among other reason why the British parliament was later convinced of the sinfulness of slave-trade in 1805. That was after the Danish government in 1802 and the United States of America in 1804 had, though only legally, declared the trade illegal.

Unofficially, however, the trade continued to flourish. As an alternative to the illegal trade in slaves, Buxton, who was a member of the Anti-Slave movement in London, suggested an alternative method of maximizing the British political and economic interest in Africa in general and the coastal regions of Nigeria in particular. He advised that commercial agents, Christian missionaries, teachers and workers should be sent into the countries to develope them politically, economically and agriculturally to suit the needs of British industry and to convert the people to Christianity.[74]

For philanthropic reason, he saw his proposition as an adequate method of combatting the slave-trade which flourished on in-spite of its official prohibition.

Buxton's recommendation was welcomed by the Anti-Slavery Society, and the suggestion was the logic behind the second Christian missionary attempt to Nigeria.

1.5.3.3. Christian Missionary of the 19th Century in Nigeria

Based on Buxton's suggestion, a 145 man exploratory group which included Samuel Ajayi Crowther,a Nigerian ex-slave who later became a bishop, set out from London in 1841 to the coastal regions of Nigeria.

---

74. Thomas F. Buxton, The African Slave trade and its Remedy, London, 1968, pp. 282 ff.

Crowther and Rev. J.F. Schön (a German) were the only missionaries in the group which consisted mainly of commercial explorers, sociologists, administrators, agricultural experts and artisans. The group had the blessing of the British government to enter into contactual treaties with the chiefs and kings of the people of Nigeria.

The expedition had a very clear commercial[75] and political objectives and implications.These political objectives later paved the way for the political structure and history of modern Nigeria. Although the political and commercial aspect of the expedition turned out to be a disaster owing to the death of most of its members, the Bible and Plough'[76] purpose of the missionaries which Buxton conceived and which Crowther and Schön represented, remained unshifting inspite of the initial set-backs.

With the encouraging assistance of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Basel Missionary, a tactic of using African Missionary agents was developed. The African missionary agents were trained in Sierra Leone, for the work of evangelization of Nigerian hinterland which, at that time, appeared climatically unbearable or European missionaries.[77] The advantage was that the African missionary agents easily felt at home with the culture of the peoples among whom they work.

---

75. See Edward Blyden, Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, African Heritage Books, Edinburg, p. 95.

76. The Stragery of evangelization developed by the "Society for the Extinction of Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa" in agreement with the policy of its leading member Buxton, Buxton, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy, pp. 283 ff.

77. F. Deaville, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, Longmans, Cargate Press, 1942, pp. 14 f.

The missionary activities of the 19th century in Nigeria also had the advantage of having an early support from hundreds of freed African slaves who, by 1830, were quartered at Badagry and Abeokuta.[78]

Some of these freed slaves had had some degree of Christian instruction before gaining freedom. Most probably it was the zeal of these ex-slaves in Badagry to deepen their Christian faith that made them in 1841 to write the Christian missionaries in Sierra Leone to send them Christian instructors.[79]

In reply to the yearning of the Badagry Christians, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, a Methodist missionary of mixed origin, having a Negro father and an European mother, was sent in company of another Ghananian missionary William de Graft to the ex-slaves in Badagry.

The Methodist missionaries who arrived in Badagry[80] on the 24th September 1842 became the first missionary group that came into Nigeria after the slave trade was made illegal. The Methodists set up a mission station in Badagry before they moved inwards to Abeokuta where they were heartily welcomed by Oba Sodeke. Ayandele seemed to see the hearty reception given to the Christian missionaries by Sodeke as only a means of gaining the political and economic support[81] of the Church in order to strengthen himself against his warring enemies.

---

78. Cf. J.F.A. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891, London, 1965, pp. 11-30. See also Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 114.

79. F. Deaville, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 14.

80. Crowder, op.cit., p. 114.

81. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, Longmans, London, 1966, p. 7.

That is just an example of some of such relationships which later developed between some local chiefs and some of the missionaries. One notices that such relationships during this period had more to do with politics than the religious zeal of such chiefs.[82] The chief might have wanted to use the Churches for their political advantage, whereas, the Church needed the friendships of the chief for their evangelization.

The missionaries of the CMS also succeeded in reaching Badagry in December 1842, however, only after the Methodist had already erected their mission there. Henry Townsend and two Yoruba ex-slaves, Andrew Wilhelm and John McCormack travalled from Sierra Leone where the CMS had its base to Badagry to survey the chances of evangelizing the people of Nigeria. They might have been encouraged by their meeting with the Methodist Missionary Freedman in Badagry, so the CMS missionaries travelled further in land to Abeokuta too.
The positive result of the CMS lay Minister Townsend's journey to Nigeria became the motivating force behind the second CMS missionary attempt which brought Samuel Crowther and other CMS missionaries into Abeokuta in 1846. From Abeokuta the missionaries proceeded east- and northwards. Relying on the evidences of the history of the Christian missionary in Nigeria, it is not totally incorrect to say that the missionaries acted as precursors to the political and commercial interest party of the British imperium.[83]

---

82. Ayandele, ibid., p. 9. See also Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 115.

83. Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1914, in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 3, No. 3, Dec. 1966, p. 505.

Although the white missionaries preached God and salvation, their relationship with their political and commercial counterparts made their intentions questionable. As usual, they entered into treaties with the local kings[84] who saw their presence more from the political and economic point of view as they went on inland. All the same, a lot of humanitarian activities in Nigeria today owe their origin to the Christian missionaries.

At Calabar, on the south-eastern coastal end of the country, the Scotish Presbytarian missionaries[85] under the leadership of Hope Waddel started in 1846 the tedious duty of convincing the people of Calabar areas to take to Christianity and give up some of the notorious aspects of their culture. Example of such notorious aspects of the culture was the killing of twins and human sacrifices. The missionaries in the Calabar regions had to battle also with the political heads of the area in order to get their opinions through.[86] That is the reason why Mary Slessor remained one of the most remembered missionaries of this area. Such dehumanizing aspect of the culture did not only obtain in Calabar, but also among some other ethnic groups of Southern Nigeria. It was not easy for the missionary to see such aspects of a culture abolish. In many cases, attempts to interfere in the people's culture sometimes resulted in a misunderstanding between the Church and the political heads of the ethnic groups.

---

84. A. Samuel Crowther and J.F. Schön, A Journal of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841, London, 1842, pp. 99-101.

85. Cf. M. Donald Macfarlane, Calabar and the Church of Scotland Mission, 1846-1946, London, 1946.

86. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, pp. 3-8, See also Macfarlane, op.cit.,

Except for such quarells resulting from the attempts of the Christian missionaries to abolish aspects of the peoples culture or interferance into their religion, the white Christian missionaries had always preferred that their converts do not engage themselves with the wrangles of politics, except when it is of utmost use to their Churches.

The second half of the 19th century which marked the arrival of various Christian denominations into Nigeria in the hope of converting the people to Christianity also marked the beginning of a new political order in Nigeria.
The various Baptist groups, the Wesley missionaries and the Catholics were among the groups that entered Nigeria within the period.
It was unfortunate for the Catholic mission which was, more or less, the first and only missionary group that attempted evangelizing Nigeria between the 15th and the 17th century, remained one of the last missionary groups to make the second attempt into Nigeria. Catholic missionary started again in Nigeria with the arrival of a missionary group under the Italian born Father Francesco Borghero in 1861.[87]
The group belong to the French Catholic Order of Société de Mission Africaines (SMA). Each and everyone of the missionary denominations tried to gain as many converts as possible for their groups.

---

87. Bane, Catholic Pioneers in West Africa, Commore and Reynolds, Dublin, 1965, p. 146.
Makozi and Ojo also traced the history of the present Catholic Church in Nigeria to the missionary effort of the Societe de Mission Africaines (SMA) whose members arrived in Nigeria in 1861. Makozi and Ojo, (eds.), The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, Lagos, 1982, pp. 8-11.

The missions designed various strategies to win member to their Churches. The most outstanding of such evangelizing strategy was the building of schools[88] and the winning of chiefs and influencial personalities into the denomination. There was no doubting the fact that in such a scramble for converts, an unhealthy competition would be the resultant effect. Missionary history showed this to be the case.[89]
The political elites who later had to control the political destiny of Nigeria were partly the products of the endeavour of these earlier missionaries. The missionaries helped build the educational system that remained the fabric of Nigerian society. They establish hospitals, social centres, and carried out caritative works. During the course of these activities, the missionaries helped introduce the dual concept of the society; whereby, they showed and preached the difference between the spiritual duties of the Churches and the secular nature of the roles of the political leaders. The Christian standard which they left behind became the principles upon which the nation Nigeria was built.
The problems created by their initial mistakes, no doubt, contributed to form the root of the many difficulties which now bedevil the Nigerian society. Christianity, just like Islam, brought with it not only new sets of religious principles, but also principles which were to affect very dramatic changes into the political set-up of Nigerian traditional political society.

---

88. See A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1974, Fafunwa confirms the fact that the Catholic mission in Nigeria stood out for having made use of the strategy of evangelization through the schools.

89. F.K. Elechi, Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1857-1914, Frank Cass & Co.Ltd., London, 1972.

In order to appreciate the relationship which developed between politics and religion in the modern Nigeria, it would be of paramount importance to take a look into the traditional political systems of the various peoples of Nigeria.

CHAPTER TWO

2. POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE TRADITIONAL ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION

2.1. Analytical Introduction

It is almost impossible to talk of a particular traditional political system which can be said to hold for the whole of Nigeria. In the same way, it will be nearly impossible to carry out a detailed analysis of the religious features in the traditional political systems without having to be involved in the exposition of the historical bases of the systems.
An analytical insight into the structural aspects of the traditional political systems of some of the most outstanding ethnic groups of Nigeria will be directed at exposing the frameworks upon which the unified and national entity, Nigeria, was build.
Such insight will lead to a better understanding and deeper appraisal of the role religion played and still plays in Nigerian politics. It is understandable if we assume that the religious experience which formed the bases of the cultural and social consciousness of a people can hardly be presumed to be obsolete within such a limited period of time. It is on the basis of this assumption that it will be supposed that an examination of the traditional political structures will give us a comparative advantage of knowing the diverse world-views of the different ethnic groups.

The diversed world-views are known to show themselves in the socio-political activities of the people, but they have the sources of the inspiration in the religious experiences.[1]
To an uninformed, it may sound ridiculous to learn that an intellectual of the calibre of the first President of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe, as Chairman of the party (NCNC) "National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon", had to ask, in 1957, for a traditional religious swearing ceremony to be arranged between him and his party friend, Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe.
This swearing ceremony was to be a sort of trust-pact between both men to be arranged for them by their village relatives. The refusal of this traditional religious ceremony on the part of Mbadiwe, caused Azikiwe to declare him a political and life suspect saying: "I shall forever be suspicious of him,...!"[2]
Although the two gentlemen are baptised Christian politicians, the trust in the traditional political order based on the traditional religious ethos of their ethnic groups could be seen to linger on still in their memories inspite of their academic standard and national status.
It should not also be surprising when some Nigerain parliamentarians were accused of allowing their ties and loyalty to their traditional rulers to influence their decisions and voting patterns in the national parliament.[3]

---

1. See Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, Chicago, 1944, pp. 35-47. Also see Harry M. Johnson, Sociology, A Systematic Introduction, London.

2. See R.L. Sklar, Nigerian political Parties: Power in Emergent African Nation, Princeton, 1963, p. 223.

3. See Morning Post, "Hail, the Alake", 2. Sept., 1963, p. 3, in: F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria: The Tribes, the Nations or the Race. -- The Politics of Independence, p. 6.

While one group look toward the relatives of their respective villages for support, the other group owe their allegiance to their traditional rulers. Only an analytic examination of the political structures which emerge from the traditional philosophies and world-views of the different ethnic groups can sufficiently explain why someone like Azikiwe sought assistance in the religious tradition of his village. Such analysis will also explain why he sought the assistance, not just in the traditional rulers, but in his relatives. On the other hand, the analyis will explain why some parliamentarians sought the foundation of their power in the hands of their traditional rulers, whereas some saw themselves just accountable to their people in general.

The two given examples portray two major political world-views which had their sources in the traditonal political structures of the different ethnic groups depicting:

1) Those whose traditional system of governments centred around the persons of their relatives.
2) Those who find the centre of their governments in the persons of a traditional rulers.
3) In between these two governmental structures are multiples of political societies whose traditional systems of government could be classified as having acquired some mixed structural emphasis as a result of traditional contacts with neighbouring ethnic groups.[4]

---

4. Cf. also M. Fortes and E.E. Evans - Pritchard (eds.), African Political Systems, London, 1941, pp. 5 ff. Fortes and Evans - Pritchard made a very educative analysis of the traditional political structures of different ethnic groups. The work aims at classifying the many similar political systems in such a way as to distinguish those systems which admitted of a centralized government with all the facets of administration in the forms of a recognised ruling personality or body, a law-giving organ and a forum for the judication, from those ethnic political entities in which political administration is so segmentary and decentralized to the extent that it would be hard to class all the members of a definite society within a geographical area as living under one political leadership.

When these different traditional political systems are approximately classified, one will find that the political structures of the ethnic groups fall into three approximate categories:

1) The feudal monarchical political structures.
2) The traditional constitutional monarchical systems.
3) The segmentary decentralized republican political societies.

2.1.1. The Feudal Monarchical Political Structures

Under this heading are those political structures which admit of a monarchical head under whom were hosts of vasals who owed allegiance to him.
The person of such traditional head would be seen as the centre of power to whom all other administrative personalities owe their right of authority. That means, the judicial, economic and social activities of all those who find themselves within the territories which "legally come under the juridiction" of the traditional leaders owe the source of their legitimacy to the persons of such feudalistic monarchs.
The organ of administration would be predominantly based on the use of the fiefs, while all the fiefholders and their subjects are responsible to the beneficiary spirit of the leader or monarch.[5]

---

5. S.N. Eisenstadt in his writing "Primitive Political Systems: A Preliminary Comparative Analysis", also distinguished between centralized and federative monarchies. His description of the centralized monarchies share much in common with the definiton of the feudalistic monarchical political structures. See Eisenstadt, ibid., in: American Anthropologist, Vol. IXI, pp. 200-220.

2.1.2. The Traditional Constitutional Monarchical Systems

This system is described as traditional constitutional to distinguish it from the rational legally constitutional which presumes that the authority of the office-holders would be based on such constitutionally stipulated criteria which derived its origin from legal order rather that the personality of the office holder. Traditional constitutional monarch differentiate itself from the rational legalistic because of the emphasis placed on the sacredness of the traditional past and the inheritance right as a source of authority. The constitutional character of this system finds it meaning in the functional role played by the various social and political organs which are forms of legal institutions within the administrative structure.
They serve as systematic and reciprocal control on the whole of the political system. In that case all the ruling personalities, including the traditional head are, in one way or the other, helmed by some forms of legal social and political controls.[6]

2.1.3. The Segmentary Decentralized Republican Political Societies

Traditonal political structures which come under this classification would be said to be segmentary because of its very natu- of not allowing the main seat of power to exist wholely outside the small groups of kins which, together, formed a political community.

---

6. See also M. Fortes and E.E. Evans - Pritchard, op.cit., p.10.

Each group of kins being a segment of the political society, tries to regulate its socio-political destiny with only a partial concern and interest for the political activities of the other segments.

Because of the shared geographical, cultural and social relationship and affinity between the various segments they can still be regarded as a complete community.
The various groups see themselves collectively as a society inspite of the segmentary nature of their administrations.
In such community where there was no specifically established authoritative, legalistic, or purely administrative organs which has complete control of the affairs of the whole community, the powers of government resided in each of the segments.
Such political societies are then described as having a very decentralized system of administration.
If we were to rely on the technicalities that characterize the political expressions "Republic" and "Republican" as differentiating it from other forms of government, one will have to agree that some traditional political governments rightfully fall within this classification of "res-publica".
The traditional political societies, thus, described as republican have the characteristics of not leaving the political affairs to an exclusive class of people, but allow the public, that is, all the members of the various segments the right to participate fully in administrative machinaries of the political society.[7]

---

7. Cf. S.N. Eisenstadt, Primitive Political System: A Comparative Political Analysis, in American Anthropologist, Vol. IXI, 1959, pp. 200-220. See also M. Fortes and E.E. Evans - Pritchard, pp. 5-14. See also Charles K. Meek, Ibo law, in: J.D. Jennings and E.A. Hoebel (eds.), Reading in Anthropology, New York, 1955, pp. 221-131.

Although this classification is made to give a descriptive expostition of the various traditional systems in Nigeria, it must be understood that some elements of each of these described characteristics could be found, to some substantial extent, in any political society.[8]
Whereby, it should be taken that the non-existence of a particular quality in a definite political society does not make the society fall out of place in the classification.

2.2. The Hausa as a People

For an uninterested observer, or a visitor to the northern part of Nigerai, the area could seem to be inhabited by a great culturally and linguistically united ethnic group. Such assumption is rather misleading. Not only because this area accommodates more than 200 other ethnic groups,[9] which have some differentiating cultural identities, but also because it remain a fact of history that the ethnic groups are not culturally or religiously homogeneous as many had falsely believed, or as it may appear on the surface.

---

8. See also P.S. Lloyd, The political Structure of African Kingdoms, in: M. Banton (ed.), Political Systems and the Distribution of Power, London, 1965, p. 83.

9. Cf. Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, Vol. 1, pp. 23-24. Also see O. Temple and C. Temple's "Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria, a book which was devoted exclusively in compiling the history of the different ethnic groups of Northern Nigeria.

The very common use made of the Hausa language, which is the language of some of the ethnic groups, the "Hausa", as the lingua-franca for a great majority of that area, has been seen to be one of the major causes of the unfounded hypotheses that the North constitutes a linguistic and religious homogeneous ethnic group.[10]

To refute this widespread view, O. Temple and C. Temple traced the origin of the "Hausa tribe" and their language to only the seven Hausa states.[11]

The Islamic religion which was treated like a quasi-state religion, not only by the Hausas but also by the other neighbouring groups, had helped give the impression that the ethnic groups of the North were homogenous. Islam and its acculturizational ability helped greatly in making all the tribes who accepted the religion, or who were forced to accept it, to have a feeling of accommodation and trust for one another. The world-view helped give the believers a common aspiration and goal in their relationship with non-Muslims. Having cleared this initial misunderstanding, one can then ask: "Who are the Hausa?" Surely, not all those who live in the geographical areas referred to as the North are Hausa.

2.2.1. Origin of the Hausa

As early as the eleventh century the very faithful, reliable,and beautifully built people of the Hausa ethnic group have already founded for themselves seven prominent and well organized states which were later regarded as "Hausa Bokwai".[12]

---

10. Cf. Alan Burn, History of Nigeria, London, 1955, p. 39.

11. O. Temple and C. Temple, op.cit., p. 406

12. B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, p. 3. Also see O. Temple, Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria, p. 406.

B.J. Dudley listed these shates to include Daura, Kano, Zaria,[13] Gobir, Katsina Rano and Biram.

The origin of the Hausa have been traced to different peoples in the Arab world with whom they have some characteristic similarities. Hodgkin wrote of the legends which traced their origin to Canaan, Palestine, Libya, Mecca and even Baghdad.[14]

The credibility of some of these legends on the origin of the Hausa is sometimes buttress with the argument that the Hausa-speaking peoples are, not only to be found within the geographical boundaries of the Hausa states, but also in Tunis, Senegal, Cairo and Mecca.[15]

The most popular legend of the origin of the Hausa says that the seven Hausa-states owed their origin to "Bayanyyida" who founded the State of Daura from where his sons pulled out to build the other states.[16]

The popularity and the uniqueness of the Hausa language in comparison with the languages of other neighbouring ethnic groups has always made the Hausa one of the most popular ethnic group. It is a language which, not only exel in the profundity of its vocabulary by admitting foreign words without losing its uniqueness, but it has also the advantage of having simple words for the expression of complex abstract and scientific ideas.[17]

---

13. Zaria is also referred to as Zazzau, See Hodgkin , Nigerian Perspective, p. 56.

14. Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp. 54-56.

15. Temple, op.cit., p. 405.

16. Cf. Dudley, op.cit., p. 56. Dudley noted the legend which shows the origin of the Hausa states.

17. Temple, op.cit., p. 406.

This language later became a paramount unifying instrument which kept the relationship between the peoples of the Hausa states and their neighbouring ethnic groups.
It was this language which became the lingua franca of most of the ethnic groups of the northern part of Nigeria. This mistake of classifying all the ethnic groups, north of the River Niger as Hausa, is wrong. A mistake which has not been completely erased from the minds of many in southern Nigeria. But this does not mean that there are no Hausa people but only a people who speak Hausa, as Fage mistakingly supposed.[18]

2.2.2. Religion in the Hausa States

Most historical, political and religious researches conducted about the Hausas seem to agree to the fact that until the eleventh century when Umme Jilma, Mai of Kanem was converted to Islam,[19] the Hausa people had remained devotees of the Traditional religion. Dudley wrote showing that by 1097 the influence of Islam had been noted in Bornu, the neighbouring kingdom to the Hausa states.[20]
Most probably, Islam was introduced into the Hausa states from the Kanem-Bornu empire. By the fourteenth century already the traces of the Islamic religion was highly noticeable in the Traditional religion of the people.[21] Most probably, this influence was brought in by the Fulani and Arab traders.

---

18. J.D. Fage, An Introduction into the History of West Africa, Cambridge, 1955, p. 34.

19. Hodgkin, op.cit., pp. 21, 68-69.

20. Dudley, op.cit., p. 2, also see Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 55.

21. Faganna and Biggs, p. 178.

The religion rapidly found its way into the seven Hausa states. Between 1320 and 1553, during the reign of Korau. the Islamic religion was accepted as one of the peoples religion in the Hausa state of Katsina.
It was introduced into Kano during the reign of Yaji (1349-1385).

Within the course of the centuries, Islam quickly developed into a popular religion among the Hausa.
It constantly underwent sporadic purification because of its assimilative attitude towards the Traditional religion practised by the followers before the conversion of the people to Islam. With the rapid growth in the strength of the Kanem-Bornu empire between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the consequent subjugation of some of the Hausa states, notably Kano, the tenets of the Islamic religion were given a prominent place in the administrative life of the Hausa people.[22]

2.2.3. Administration among the Hausa

The Islamic religion, having successfully found its way into the social life of the people, by the very nature of the religion, its influence could not be kept away from the political structure of the society.
It quickly found its root in political organs of the state. Like most ethnic groups around the Hausa towns, there had existed a centralized system of administration under powerful leaders. The powers of these leaders were further enhanced by the Islamic religion. The leaders of communities were always the first targets of zealous Islamic proselytes.

---

22. Sir Alan Burns, History of Nigeria, London, 1972, p. 47.

The conversions of village or state heads into Islam automatically and rapidly led to the transformation of the village or states into an Islamic area.

In very many cases, the non-Muslim members of a village found the best option in taking to the religion[23] rather than suffer the disadvantage resulting from remaining non-Muslims. All the same, one cannot, until Othman dan Fodio, categorically claim that the inhabitants of the Hausa states were forced to embrace Islam by force of arm.[24]

Nevertheless, inhabitants who were Muslims found themselves to be in constant oppositon to the ways of life of their non-believing brothers. The tenets of the religion further made it one's duty to help one's fellow brothers attain spiritual salvation in the Islamic religion. This demand of the Islamic faith could be said to justify the religious war (jihad) which was later carried out by Othman dan Fodio.

Even before and after the jihad, Islamic brotherly zeal led some of the powerful leaders to present the Islamic religion to their subjects as the best and only alternatives.

With the Islamic as the quasi people's religion, it was not a difficult task using the Islamic law as the basic principles of the judicial and administrative system.

---

23. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 140-144.

24. Fujana and Biggs, op.cit., p. 178.
See also L. Franklin Blitz, (ed.), The Politics and Administration of Nigerian Government, Lagos, 1965, pp. 20-23. Like many other authors who researched into the events that led to the Fulani jihad, Blitz even traced the effect of the jihad on the non-Hausa peoples of Northern Nigeria.

It was under this situation that the Fulani[25] found their way gradually but consistently in the main stream of the religious and political structures of the Hausa states.

2.3. Hausa/Fulani

The Fulani in Nigera were a normadic people of a semitic race. They travelled around the sub-Saharan regions of Africa before they peacefully found their way into many parts of the Hausaland where they lived in peace with the Hausa. They also intermarried with Hausa people and their relationship was quickly cemented by their common belief in the Islamic religion.[26] Their presence withnessed the rise in the powers of the Hausa states over their rival ethnic groups of the Kanem-Bornu empire. This rise in power of the Hausa states led to rivalry, competiting among themselves for places of dominance in the region. At a time,towards the end of the 15th century, Kano gained the predominant hand among the Hausa states under their king Muhammed Rimfa. He was reported by the Kano Chronicle to have intensified the practice of Islamic religion with the help of Fulani Muslim theologians.[27]

---

25. Although the Fulani will be mentioned among the minor tribes, it is very hard to make a consistent clear demarcation between the Hausa and the Fulani. Both tribes, not only intermarried to get mixed up, but the great assimilative role played by the Islamic religion in their relationship seem to be of more importance than ethnic distinction. Except for the normadic Fulani who still exist today as the pure Fulani , most of the Fulani have taken to the Hausa way of life and language. Pure Fulani can also be found among the royal and aristocratic families.

26. Cf. F.W. St. Croix, The Fulanis of Northern Nigeria, Gregg Intern. Publ. Ltd., London, 1972, pp. 5-6.

27. Hodgkin, op.cit., p. 24.

As theological or spiritual advisers, teachers and political assistants, the Fulani gradually gained influencing positions in the courts of the leaders and kings. They were presumed to be very much concerned about maintaining the orthodoxy of the Islamic religion.
By the end of the 18th century they had gained enough grounds among the Hausa that they could condemn any leader or king for contravening the Islamic law.

It was the "zeal to purify the Islamic religion" that led the Fulani, Othman dan Fodio,to start his jihad in June 1804. It started as a religious activity and a condemning propaganda against the exploitative kings in the Hausa states who were seen as unjust, oppressive and lax in incorporating the Islamic social teachings into their administrative principles.[28] Some of the kings were accused of allowing the influence of the Traditonal religion to remain after its abolition. Othman dan Fodio came in direct conflict with the king of Gobir, the ruler of one of the Hausa states which eventually led to the war in which Othman came out victorious.The last phases of the jihad brought, not only the Hausa states under the Fulani subjugation guided stricktly by the codes of the Koran and Hadid, but also other neighbouring ethnic groups southwards till Ilorin.[29]

---

28. Fajana and Biggs, p. 119.

29. Cf. B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, pp. 5-11, also see O. Temples, Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria for the history of the Fulani and their incursion into the Hausa states, pp. 396-403. Hodgkin gave an account of the early activities of the Fulani as Islamic theologians in Kano in the 15th century, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

The jihad could be said to have theoretical come to an end about 1830, after the Yoruba areas of Ilorin were integrated into the Fulani Islamic empire.
With the formation of the Fulani empire, which has its headquarter at Sokoto, the political powers of the Hausa was brought to and end. The Sultan and Fulani Emirs, or their agents became the heads of the areas previously governed by the Hausa.

2.3.1. System of Administration under the Leadership of the Hausa/Fulani

The aim of the jihad, among other reasons, was to make the Islamic religion the foundation upon which the ways of life of the peoples would have to be directed. The success of the jihad did not do away with this aim. Islamic laws, tentets and culture became the principle of the social and political life in all the emirates under Sokoto empire.
Sokoto became the religious and political centre of the other emirates. The Sultan, who remained the political and religious father of all other Emirs, resided in Sokoto.
We shall later examine the role of Sokoto in the Nigerian politics. Because of this dual nature of the jihad, the Emirs were not only seen as a political leaders of the people, they also occupied the highest religious position in their vatious emirates. Under this condition, they were both political and religious leaders of their people.

Around an Emir, were rolls of different hierarchical dignitaries. They having different political and religious functions in the emirate. The Emir, as the centre of political and spiritual power eyoyed an undisputed autocratic power closely comparable to the old testament jewish kings.

A well organized taxation system was established in the emirates to maintain the Emir and his court.
This is why, among other reasons, the emirate system has been described as feudalistic.
Dudley showed that the administrative system of an Hausa/Fulani emirate could be seen in the form of a political structure which is based on social stratification.
A relationship in which a group of villages "whether scattered or not, formed the fief which was held by a fief-holder. The totality of the fiefs within a definable area, together with the capital town - the seat of the government, and the various vasal states, where these were to be found, was then the "State" (Emirate), over which the chief, or Emir ruled".[30]
The accusation of feudalism is raised, most often, against the land tenure system which was practised in the emirates.
In the Emirates the land belonged to the Emirs and their agents, while the common farmers, had to pay taxes for the usage of the land.[31]
All the same, not one would doubt the fact that the emirates, under the leadership of the Hausa/Fulani Emirs, remained the most complete and widely functional administrative system existing in Nigeria before the advent of the colonizing powers.[32]

---

30. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, London, 1968, pp. 49-50. See also C.L. Temple, Native Races and their Rulers, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1968, p. XVIII.

31. C.L. Temple, op.cit., pp. XX, 135-165. Also see M.G. Smith, Government of Zazzau, (1880.1950), pp. 42-45.

32. S.J. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, The emirates of Northern Nigeria. A premiliary Survey of their Historical Tradition, London, 1966.

Fig.2.1: Political Structure in the Hausa/Fulani Empire

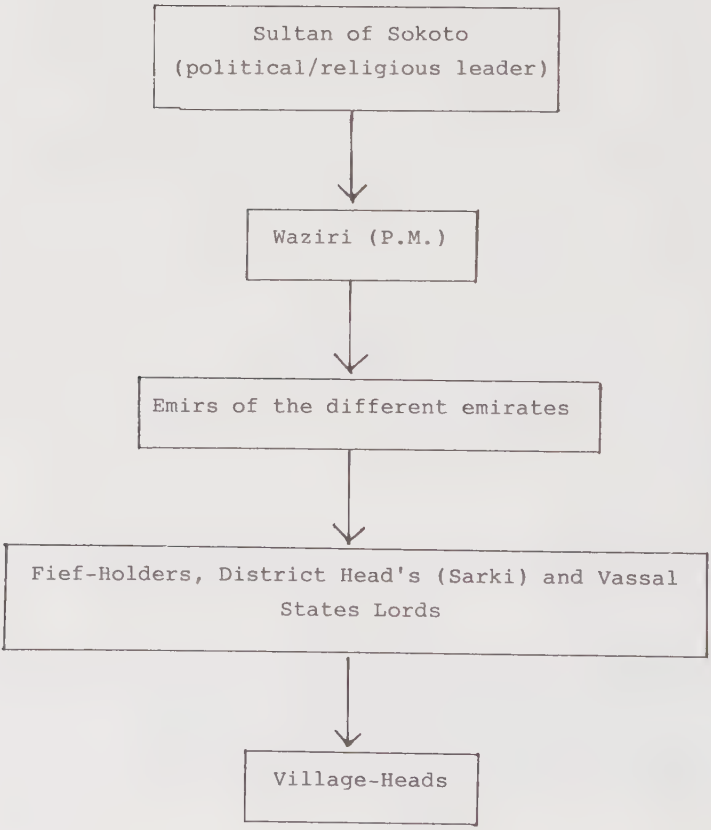
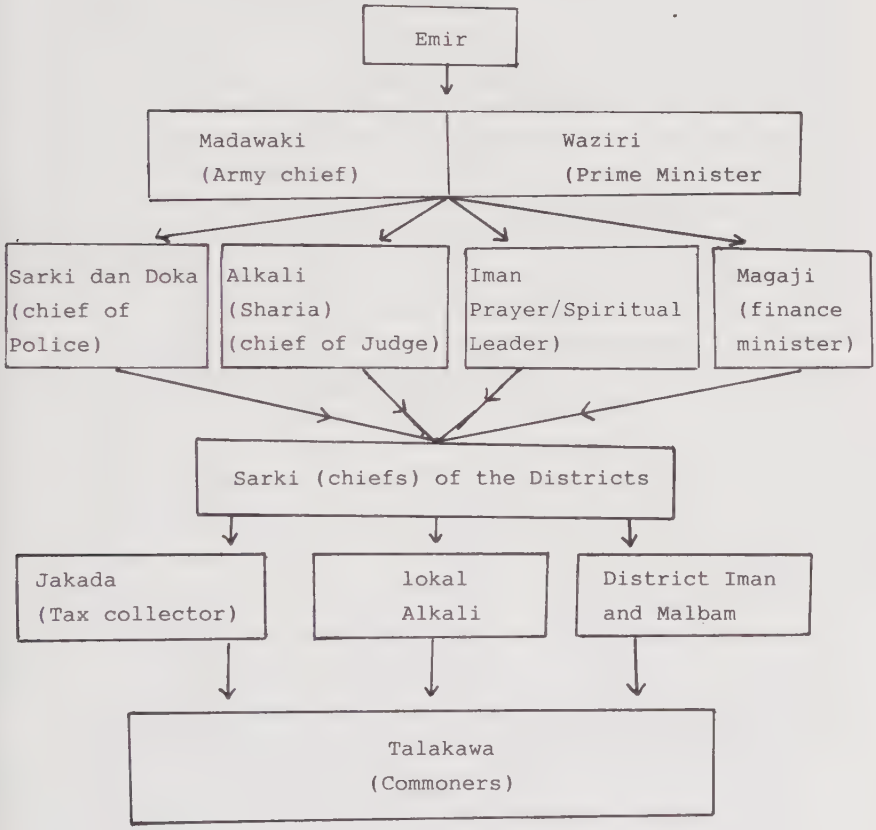


Fig. 2.2: Political Structure of an Emirate



- Emir is the spiritual and political ruler.
- The Madawaki or Waziri could be the second in command, depending on the choice of the Emir or Sultan.

A study of the political structures of the emirates will show why they were regarded as well organised. May be, because of their well mapped out hierarchically structured administrative set-up.

In the emirate the Emir had at his service the "Waziri" who is his principal minister or the Prime Minister. He helped the Emir in administrating his emirate by controlling all the bureaucratic activities within the emirate.

The army of the emirate was headed by the "Madawaki" as its commander-in-chief, while the emirate's treasury came under the charge of the "Magaji". The emirate had a police force with the "Sarkin ya Doka" as its chief.

The political structures which existed in the areas inhabited by the Hausa/Fulani and the Kanem-Bornu empire were forced on other ethnic groups in the region.

The process was made possible by the Emirs who conquered the neighbouring ethnic groups and appointed "Sarki" (Islamic chiefs) for them. Each of the "Sarki", or fief-holders owed the Emir unresearched allegiance.[33] During the colonial period, the process was made easier for the Emirs, whereby non-Muslim ethnic groups were administratively placed under their leadership. The tenets of the Islamic religion also contributed enormously to making the administrative processes of the emirates easily functional.[34]

---

33. M.G. Smith, op.cit., p. 8, See also B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, pp. 48-56.

34. Temple reported his experience in one of the Islamic Emirate by saying: "Taking the sociological and ethnological point of view...we have in the Emirate of Sokoto a good example of the effects of Islam as their best. The tenets of his creed appear to have appealed especially to the naturally haughty, reserved, and serious character of the Filane (Fulani) a semitic race allied to the Arabs and Jews, and at Sokoto and its neighbourhood we find in large numbers Muslims who carry out in the strickest manner the spirit as well as the letter of the Koran and the commentaries". Temple, Native Races and Their Rulers, p. 3.

The well organized nature of the emirate governments could also be attributed to the unquestioned right of the Emir or any of his hierarchically structured followers to appoint their relations or anybody of their choice to subordinate offices. What counted most was the loyalty which is demanded of the subordinate by his superior.[35]

These perculiarities of the Hausa/Fulani political, social and religious background are the items of comparison with those of the other ethnic groups, especially, those in the southern areas of Nigeria which were less influenced by the Islamic religion. Unlike the Hausa/Fulani, the administrative set-ups of some of the ethnic groups of the South were not so extremely hierarchically structured. Nor, was the role of religion in the administrative mechinary so pronounced like in the Sokoto empire. This phenomenal differences provide for this work the point of reference in an effort to find out the role of religion in Nigerian politics.

---

35. Cf. M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau (1880-1950, London, 1960, p. 288. Smith showed that in Zaria emirate successors to the throne of the Emir were not always choosen from the same dynasty. However, only the sons of kings were the eligible candidates for succession to the throne of Emir. Princely candidates who must have held, or are holding territorial office were those who were eligible to such promotions.

2.4. The Yoruba Political Background

2.4.1. Origin of the Yoruba

To examine the political institution of the Yoruba after that of the Hausa/Fulani is found to be most appropriate. Not only because of the Yoruba is one of the three most populous "tribe" of Nigeria, but also because of some of the similarities found to exist between the Yoruba political institutions and those of the Hausa/Fulani emirates. Between the Hasua/Fulani emirates in the North and the great kingdoms of the Yoruba in the South-west, are other smaller ethnic groups.
These will be classified among the minority ethnic groups.
Efforts to trace the origin ofthe Yoruba remainded as controversial as those of the other ethnic groups.[36]

Many authors who wrote on the history of the Yoruba try to posit archiological, sociological or ethnological reasons to buttress whatever assertion made.
A version of such stories about the origin of the Yoruba which seemed to have acquired more recognision was that which stated that the Yoruba came from Egypt.
The discovery of certain carvings on stones found at Ile-Ife, which shared great similarity which the carving of Upper Egypt, seemed to give credence to this hypothesis.

---

36. Hodgkin wrote that: "The origin of the Yoruba nation is involved in obscurity. Like the early history of most nation the commonly received accounts are purely for the most part legendary. The people being unlettered, and the language unwritten, all that is known is from tradition carefully tanded down". Hodgkin, op.cit., p. 59. Burns shared this view too stating, however, that there seem not to be a definitely agreed version on the origin of the Yoruba. Cf. Alan Burns, History of Nigeria, London, 1972, p. 28.

The system of preparing the death for burial, and the kind of cloth used in bounding the death all help to support the theory that the Yoruba might have orginated from Egypt.[37] Another evidence which seemed to justify the belief in the Egyptian origin of the Yoruba is the existence of the controversial staff which they called "Opa Oranyan". The staff was found on the alleged grave of Oranyan, one of the supposed Yoruba kings. Identical staff could be found in the Egyptian museum.[38]

While political analysists, historians and ethnologists are not agreed on the theory of the origin of the Yoruba, the fact of Ile-Ife as the first place of settlement by the Yoruba was not subjected to a prolonged argumentation. Whether legendary or otherwise, the central positin wich Ile-Ife occupy in the religious and political life of the Yorubas was never disputed.

---

37. Cf. Amaury Talbot, The People of Southern Nigeria, Vol. I, pp. 286-278. Talbot seems also to have shared the view of the Egyptian origin of the Yoruba, Burns, op.cit., p. 28-29. Burns did not only share the view of the Egyptian origin of the Yoruba, but disagrees with the other legends, like those documented in Hodgkin's "Nigeria Perspective", which said: "The Yorubas are said to have sprung from Lamurudu, one of the kings of Mecca, whose offspring...(was) Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yorubas,..." Hodgkin, p. 59.

38. It is very difficult to admit this Egyptian origin of the Yoruba theory only on the grounds of such cultural or archiological similarities. It is evident that cultural and religious objects of the Egyptian origin or those similar are found far away in Latin America among the farmers of Mexico and Peru. Yet, that does not, in any way, conclusively prove that the Latin Americans had also migrated from Egypt. Cf. Fugana and Biggs, op.cit., p.126.

The hierarchical nature of the Yoruba political structures can be seen to have been established on the bases of these legends.[39] It could also be seen the other way round. That is, the legends were created to explain the phenomenons of the Yoruba political structures.

The foundation of Oyo, which later became an empire, has been attributed to the defeat which Oranyan suffered in his military expedition. After the defeat Oranyan settled in Oyo instead of coming back to his shrine at Ile-Ife to avoid the shame associated with his defeat. This was why subsequent kings - "Oni" of Ife were regarded as the spiritual leaders of the Yoruba kingdom while the subsequent kings - "Alafins"[40] of Oyo enjoyed the role of being the political father of other kings within the kingdom.

The role Oyo occupied for the Yoruba can be compared, to some extent, to the role Sokoto played for the Hausa/Fulani empire of Othman dan Fodio.

---

39. The royal household of the Yoruba was also often straced to Oduduwa, who had a Muslim origin. During the course of his wandering for a settlement, he met a worshipper of "Ifa cult" named Agbo-niregun. Oduduwa himself settled in Ile-Ife. Okanbi his eldest son succeeded him on his death followed by his grandson Oranyan and then Sango. All these names play very important roles in the political and religious life of the Yoruba. Cf. Hodgkin, op.cit., pp. 59-61. See Alan Burns, p. 25. See also Schwarz, op.cit., pp. 64-65.

40. "Alafin" is the royal designation for the kings of Oyo, just as "Sultan" is the designation for the kings in the Hausa/Fulani empire with seat in emirate of Sokoto. The kings of Ife are designated as "Oni", but the general Yoruba word for king is "Oba".

Yet, this comparison, however, lacks adequacy. When we take into consideration that Emirs to major emirates were appointed by the Sultan of Sokoto, whereas heredity played a major role in the Oyo empire, we shall see that the powers of the Alafin of Oyo was too limited to be compared to that of the Sultan of Sokoto. This is, however, only one area, among many others, in which the powers of the Sultan was seen to be wider than that of the Alafin.

2.4.2. The Founding of Oyo Empire

The founding of Oyo has been estimated to have occured within the 14th century. Morton-Williams, suggested a date between 1388 and 1438 as the probable date of the foundation.[41] Hodgkin, relying on Rev. Samuel Johnson's account of the foundation of Oyo, attributed the foundation of the Empire's

---

41. Peter Morton-Williams, The Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo, in: D. Forde and P.M. Kaberry, (eds.), West African Kingdoms of the Nineteenth Century, London, 1967.

headquarters to Sango,[42] the fourth king after Oduduwa. Between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the empire of Oyo had greatly extended her boundaries in all directions. The descendants of the royal family of Oyo desipating into all directions founding for themselves kingdoms which owed allegience to the central government of the Alafin of Oyo. Burns reported that it is thought that the authority of the Alafin extended, at one time, as far as Accra (in Ghana) to the west and the banks of the Niger to the east. The fact that king Shango, who was deified after his death and is now a god of thunder and lightning among the Yoruba, is worshipped throughout Yorubaland, Dahomey (now Republic of Benin), and Benin (i.e. Benin City) gives a fairly conclusive proof to the extent of the expansion of the Yoruba kingdom, or at least, the extent of the influence of the kingdom.[43]

---

42. Sango is today a respected deity in Yoruba political and religious culture. He is believed to possess great magical powers. As king of the Yoruba kingdom, his reign experienced substancial military success resulting in the expansion of the Oyo empire. Sango, as a deity, remained very important in the religious life of the royal court of Yoruba Obas. Sango, who through his magical power was said to have evoked the thunder and lightening which destroyed his palace and household, decided as a punishment for himself to abdicate the throne and go on exile. Despite the pledge of loyalty by his people and a promise to help in the recovery of the losses, he remained unmoved. He later committed suicide. His followers, in respect for him, did the same. Cf. Hodgkin, op.cit., pp. 84-86. Also see S. Johnson, History of the Yorubas, London, 1912, pp. 149-152.

43. Alan Burns, op.cit., pp. 25-26, quoting Rev. Samuel Johnson to support his argument showing the extent of influence enjoyed by the Oyo empire.

The major kingdoms within the empire by the 18th century included Oyo, Ketu, Ijebu, Ibadan, Ilesha, Ife, Ilorin and Ekiti. All these remained major centres within the Oyo empire whose inhabitants identified themselves as "Omo Oduduwa" (children of Oduduwa).[44]

Other areas such as Dahomey and the Nupe had to pay tributes to the Alafin who exerted great political and military influence over them. Following the example of Sango who committed suicide, or that of Oranyan who first settled in Oyo to evaide the shame of his military misfortune, Yoruba army generals had to commit suicide, or go into exile on sustaining a military defeat. To avoid such shame, each of the generals did everything possible to put in the best in wars with the other ethnic groups.

This explained the rapid territorial expansion which was recorded in the Oyo empire. If, however, an army general on sustaining a military loss prefered exile to suicide, he had to go outside the territories of the empire.

This could also explain the fact of the presence of the Yoruba speaking people in territories outside Yorubaland.

---

44. Lukas J. Olumide, Oduduwa: A Lecture, Lagos, 1949. The appellation "Omo Oduduwa" is related to the Yoruba belief that they are descendants of Oduduwa who founded the empire. Cf. Forde, The Yoruba-Speaking People of South-western Nigeria, International African Institute, London, 1951. As we shall see later, the Omo Oduduwa consciousness later became a political rallying point of modern Yoruba politics. The association formed after the designation performed the same spiritual cum political leadership role for the Yorubas.

2.4.3. Administrative Set-Up in the Oyo Empire

While Oyo remained the political and military headquarter of the Oyo empire, Ife,where the most important shrine of Ifa was situated, was seen as the religious centre of the kingdom. This division of power helped to curtail the political powers of the Alafin of Oyo when compared with that of his counterpart, the Sultan of Sokoto. While the Sultan of Sokoto was both the religous and political leader in his empire (i.e. The Fulani empire divided into different emirates),[45] the Alafin of Oyo, though also religiously respected, was not the religous leader of the empire.

This role has always been played by the Oni of Ife. The Alafin was helped in his office by a council of seven adviser which were referred to as 'Oyo-Mesi'.

Each of these counsellors was charged with the duty of supervising each of the seven districts of the capital, Oyo, or appointed as Oba to one of the subordinate kingdoms.

It was also the duty of these counsellors to choose a new Alafin from the royal family on the death of an Alafin.

They had the power to reject a defaulting Alafin by forcing him to commit suicide.[46] This marked another major difference between the powers of the Alafin and those of the Sultan.

---

45. A. Burns, op.cit., pp. 47, The Sultan of Sokoto is referred also as the Sarkin Muslumi, that mean the chief of all the Muslims.

46. Cf. W. Schwarz, op.cit., p. 65. As a sign of the Alafin's rejection, he is symbolically presented a parrot's egg or an empty calabash which should connote that his people can nolonger tolerate his leadership.

The Oyo-Mesi also assisted the Alafin in his administrative and judicial functions. One of them, the "Basorun" acted as the Prime Minister. These councellors, not only supervised the bureaucratic functions of the empire, but also remained a political check which stopped any tyranneous attempt of the Alafin. This showed that the Alafin in the Oyo empire cannot be said to have enjoyed an absolute authocratic power.[47] The Kakanfo, who was the commander-in chief of the army, came next in rank after the counsellors. While the posts of the Alafin and that of the Oyo-Mesi were, more or less, hereditary, or at least the successors were chosen within the families of their predecessors, the military posts had been mainly achieved through personal courage and loyalty to the empire.[48] The political structure of the empire, when followed downwards, showed that other Obas, who ruled over the kingdoms within the empire had to pay, not only tribute to the Alafin, but depended on him for their peace and security.

Each kingdom contained smaller groups of families bounded together in territories which they called "Idile". These were headed, in most cases by the eldest male of the Idile.[49]

---

47. Cf. T.O. Elias, The Nature of African Customary Law, Manchester, 1956, p. 98. See also Hodgkin, op.cit., pp. 169-170. Hodgkin gave an account of Alafin Adahoonzou in 1774 who was rejected by his Oyo-Mesi on behalf of the people. But the stubbornness of the Alafin resulted in war between the Alafin and his councellors.

48. P.C.L. Loyal, Traditional Rulers, in: J.S. Coleman and C.G. Rosberg (eds.), Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964, p. 385.

49. Cf. W.B. Schwab, Kinship and Lineage Among the Yoruba, in Africa, Vol. XXV, Oct., 1955, p. 354.

The Idile, as a group of many relatives based on intermarriages, lived closely together with one another. Most Yoruba lived together in congested cities. The phenomenon of Yoruba living in large populated cities together has been attributed to the continuous wars carried out by the army of the empire. For defensive purposes, the inhabitants had to live as closely as possible to one another in strategic locations which guaranteed their safety from the forces of their enermies. The congested nature of the towns and the interdependence which resulted from such situation help to explain why such industries as carving, weaving and smithing grew enormously in the towns.[50] It was then extimated that 30 % of the Yoruba lived together in towns which have population figures of about 25,000. About 60 % live in towns with a population of more than 20,000, while the other 10 % find themselves in smaller communities of lesser population.[51]
This situation help enhanced the administrative duties of the leaders, co-operation among the inhabitants, and a sense of a common goal and destiny seen from the point of view of a common origin and a common social situation.

---

50. E.D. Morel, Nigeria, Its Peope and Its Problems, Frank Cass & Co., London, 1968, p. 78. Morel, writing of his experience of the Yorubaland between 1910 and 1911, said: "We find today a series of native towns which for estimated numers surpass anything to be met within any part of Africa - such as Ibadan 150,000, Abeokuta, 100,000, Oshogbo 40,000, Ogbomosho 35,000, Ife 30,000, Oyo 40,000, Ijebu-Ode 35,000, Iseyin 40,000, some twelve other towns with a population of between 10,000 and 20,000, and twice as many more whose inhabitants number 5,000 to 8,000".

51. Cf. P.C. Lloyd, Yoruba Land Law, London, 1962, p. 50.

2.4.4. Religion in the Political Life of the Empire

Although the Alafin was not the spiritual father of Oyo empire, each Oba was a quasi spiritual leader of his subjects. The Obas were looked upon as sacred and were regarded as such. That was why it could be regarded as an abomination for a subject to lay his hands in violence against an Oba. The subjects rather postrate in respect for him.[52]
The Oba or Alafin was, as the case may be, expected to meet up with the spiritual qualities which his office demands of him. His spiritual and political life was closely watched by a powerful religious but politically orientated cult of "Ogboni". The cult which was a form of secret society was closely connected with the religious life of the state. With the priests and members of other societies such as "Egugun" or "Adamuorisha",the members of the Ogboni were able to control the social, religious and political activities of the empire. Such controls were directed observing the relationship between the Alafin or the Obas and their counsellors.[53] The Ogboni also acted as a check on relationship between the ruling class and the people as a whole.

---

52. It is, however, customary for a younger Yoruba to postrate on the ground or bow in respect while greeting an elder. This custom can also be found among many other tribes of Nigerai, the Hausa and the Edo, but it is conspicuously lacking among the Igbos.

53. Alan Burns, op.cit., London, 1955, p. 31.

The politics of Oyo empire did not confer on the Alafin, the Obas, or any of their officers an absolute power over their people. A very unique system of check and balance of their powers was culturally weaved into the society.[54] The Alafin and the Obas were not only chosen by subordinate groups which also guarded the activities of the chosen Obas or Alafin, but they also possessed the power to dismiss an erring Oba or Alafin.[55]

Although the check and balance of power helped to check arbitrariness on the part of the ruling monarchs, yet, it contributed adversely to the later fall of the empire. With the weakening of the central government of the empire caused by the struggle for power between the ambitious Prime Ministers (Basorun) and the Alafin, petty jealousies among the Oyo-Mesi,[56] the authority of the Alafin over vassal kings in non-Yoruba territories gradually diminished.

The sense of independence among the subordinate Obas of kingdoms within the empire increased to that extent that the chief of the army of the empire (Kakanfo) Afonja during the reign of Alafin Abiodum (c. 1810), not only set his kingdom of Ilorin free from the Alafin's domination, but also besieged and ransacked the headquarter of Oyo.

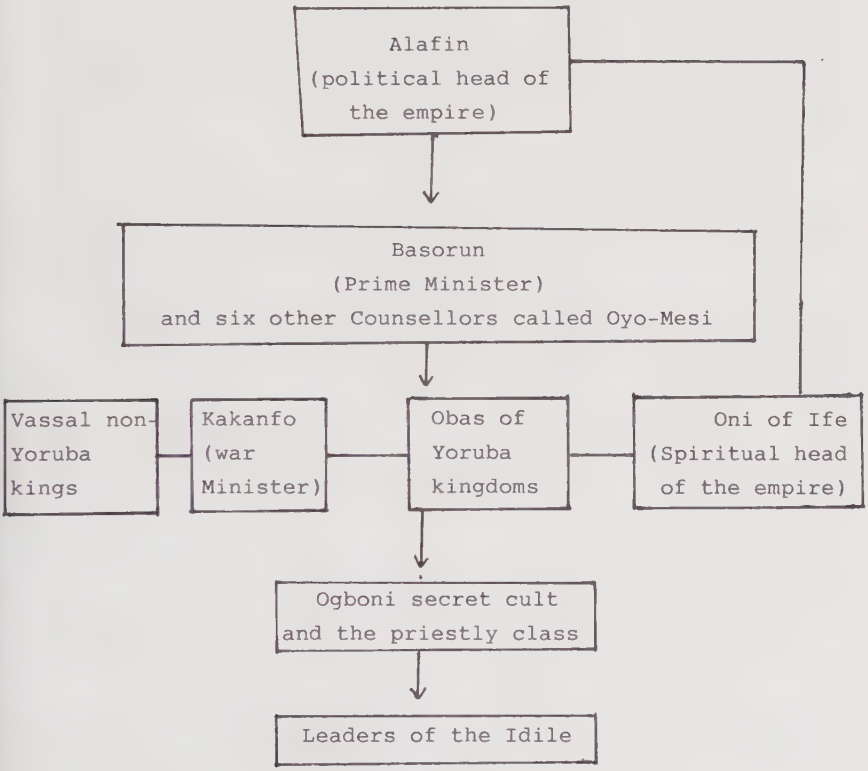
---

54. Cf. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 172.

55. Cf. Hodgkin, op.cit., pp. 137-138.

56. Cf. S. Johnson, History of the Yorubas, pp. 173-177, cited also Hodgkin, ibid., pp. 169-170.

Fig. 2.3.: Yoruba Political Structure in the Oyo Empire *



* The Basorum, any of the cousellors, or even the Kakanfo can BE AN Oba of a kingdom while still maintaining his office in the court of the Alafin.

The Ogboni cult, though below the ruling class, acted as a religious and political check on the ruling class.

With the aid of his Fulani/Hausa neighbours who helped him build up a strong army, Afonja succeeded in defeating the army of the Oyo empire.[57]
Afonja's army which predominantly consisted of his Hausa/Fulani Muslim mercenary neighbours later killed him in order to convert Ilorin kingdom into an extention of the Hausa/Fulani Sokoto empire. Alimi, a Muslim Mallam whom Afonja had invited into his new founded kingdom to help him as priest, assumed the throne as the Emir of Ilorin owing allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto.[58]
With the Yorubas of Ilorin coming under the Islamic authority of the Muslim Hausa/Fulani empire, the Islamic religion gradually found its way into the political life of the Yoruba. By mid-19th century the kingdoms of the Oyo empire were already very much decentralized and disunited under antagonistic Obas. In comparison with the other ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Yoruba remained, however, one of the most populous ethnic group which culturally share the same language, belief and an historical sense of traditional unity. These were always depicted in their social structures, religious rituals and their common political aspiration.[59]

---

57. Burns, op.cit., p. 26.

58. Burns, ibid., pp. 266-227.

59. Cf. J.S. Coleman, Nigeria-Background to Nationalism, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, p. 25.

2.5. The Igbo and their System of Administration

It is only appropriate to examine the political system of the Igbo after those of the other two major ethnic groups of Nigeria, the Hausa and the Yoruba. This decision was reached because the Igbo ethnic is one of the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria. Another reason is because of the comparative lack of a very defined centralized political system which characterized most of the Igbo political administrations when compared with those of the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba. When compared with the political systems of some of the minor ethnic groups like the Nupe and Edo the political system appeared less centralized to help us reach some definition of Igbo political structure, one would have to agree to a greater extent with Forde and Jones who tried to make some differentiation among the Igbo people. They talked of the Onitsha Igbo, the Western Igbo, Owerri Igbo, Cross River Igbo and North-eastern Igbo.[60]

2.5.1. Differentiating the Igbo

Such differentiation is found necessary in order to avoid those generalized statements commonly made about the Igbo political system which assert that "the Igbo have no king".[61] Such statement can only be justified when exceptions are immediately attached.

---

60. D. Forde and G.I. Jones, The Igbo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of South-eastern Nigeria, 1950, p. 10.

61. Dike, 1956, p. 26, quoted from Laird and Oldfield, London, 1837, p. 101.

The Onitsha Igbo and the Western Igbo, as Forde and Jones classified them, could be understood as the Niger Igbo which came under the study of Professor Ikenna Nzimiro.[62] These are Igbo who find themselves living along the river Niger banks. While these have the same language like other Igbo, their origin and their political system happened to be the only major significant difference between them and the Owerri Igbo, the North-eastern Igbo and Cross River Igbo.

2.5.2. The Niger/Onitsha Igbo

The origin of the Niger Igbo has been classified to come under these headings:

IGBOS	IGALA	BENIN	MIXED TRIBES[63]
Arani	Ossomari	Aboh	Utoku
Ogwu	Oko	Onitsha	Adawai
Osuche	Odekpe	Assay	Akrai
Umunankwo	Umuolu	Uchi	Okpai
		Onyo	Ndoni
			Asaba

---

62. Nzimiro, Studies in Igbo Political Systems, Chieftaincy and Politics in Four Niger States, London, 1972.

63. K.O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885, Oxford, 1956, p. 36. Dike tried to show the origin of those Igbo people who later found their new homes along the banks of the river Niger. The town classified under the "Mixed tribes", he specified, as those communities whose inhabitants originated from different ethnic groups other than a specific one. See also Nzimiro, op.cit., pp. 6-19. Nzimiro also tried to trace the origin of some of the Niger Igbo state. He specified the difference in the origin of the Niger Igbo from those of the other Igbo ethnic groups.

Some section of the Igbo who owe their origin to the Igala and Benin people took along with them the political culture of their "mother ethnic groups" who had the monarchical system. This system was different from the political system of the other Igbo. The Onitsha Igbo, who are the typical example of the Niger Igbo, traced their origin to Benin. They believe that their ancestor, Chima, and his relations migrated eastwards from Benin. The presence of different ranges of Igbo peoples between the Edo of Benin area and the Onitsha Igbo seemed to confirm this migration claim of the Onitsha Igbo. The Onitsha Igbo succeeded in defeating the original inhabitants of the area they now occupy, the Oze people.[64]
They established for themselves a political system which had the "Obi"[65] as a political head of the political institution. The political system is hierarchically structured and, in some respect, resembled the political institutions of the Obas of the Yoruba Oyo Empire.

When one examines the relationship which existed between the Obi and his subjects, and the role played by his political administration among the Onitsha people in comparison with those of the Obas and the Emirs, one immediately notices the relative decentralized nature of the administrative system of the Onitsha Obi. Very much like the Obas of the Yorubaland, the Obi of Onitsha occupy also a very prominent position in the religious life of his kingdom.

---

64. Nzimiro, ibid., p. 8.

65. The royal title for the king of Onitsha is "Obi" just as "Oba" is the title for the Yoruba kings.

He cannot, however, be described as the spiritual leader of his kingdom like the Emirs of the Hausa/Fulani emirates. But one cannot completely dissociate his political function from the religious aspirations of his subjects.[66] The Onitsha Obis or any of the kings of the Niger Igbos were never regarded as sacred objects of worship as to be seen as gods as was reported to be the case among the Yoruba.[67] The Obi owed his office to his receiving of the 'staff of office', which is seen as the "Ofo".[68] The "Ofo" is a political as well as a religious symbol of office. The conferment of political power did not connote an extraordinary conferment of religious authority of the Obi. All the same, his person was regarded, to some extent, as worthy of sacred respect. He could not, however, usurp the powers of the spiritual heads of his kingdom, nor was his

---

66. Cf. C.K. Meek, Law and Authority in a Niger Tribe, Oxford University Press, 1937. Meek gave an account of the rite of the installation of an Obi. He tried to prtray the religious implication of the political functions of an Obi. The Obi is said to derieve his power from the spirit of his ancestors (the dead Obis). On that note, the political power of the Obi was not just seen as merely legalistic, but was seen to be based on the spiritual power derieved from their relgious belief. Cf. Meek, p. 186.

67. Cf. Johnson, History of the Yorubas, pp. 173-174. See Hodgkin, op.cit., p. 137.

68. The "Ofo" is a wooden stalk from the "detanum senegalensis" tree. It is the symbol of authority among most Igbo. In areas where the "Ofo" system exists, every head of a family possess this staff as a sign of his authority. This staff is passed on to the next eldest male of the family on the death of the office-holder.

person an object of worship.[69]

2.5.2.1. Administration in Onitsha Political Society

The Obi, who was the head of the relatively centralized state apparatus was, however, checked by the strong group of his six subordinate Ndiichie-Ume, headed by the Iyase (Onowu), who acted as Prime Minister.
The Ndiichie-Ume were equally appointed heads of the six administrative divisions of Onitsha called "Ebo". With the Obi and the Ndiichie sitting in council, they formed the executive and legislative body of the government of Onitsha. The composition of this legislative body and the person of the Obi as king marked the major difference between the political system of the Niger Igbo and those of the other Igbo. Most legislative functions among the other Igbo, were left to the general assemblies of the villages, or to councils of elders into which representatives were delegated by the people themselves.[70]

---

69. Nzimiro, op.cit., p. 43. See also Basden, op.cit., Basden wrote in the introduction to his work "Niger Ibo" that before the advent of colonialism, much of the political, as well as, the religious powers of the Obi has its origin from the spiritual world. In that sense, the Obi's political power can, to a certain extent, be attributed to his religious signigificance. G.T. Basden, Niger Ibos, London, p. XIII.

70. Nzimiro, pp. 99-106. Nzimiro treated this topic in detail showing the various legislative councils within the Onitsha political system. He followed the administrative structure of the state showing the various levels of legislation:
I) The local council (Izu Ogbe)
II) The intermediate council (Izu Ebo)
III) The state council (Izu Ndiichie)
IV) The general assembly (Izu Obodo)

Inspite of the lower status of the Ndi Okpara who were the spiritual and religious heads in the Onitsha state apparatus, they were privileged sit next to the Obi in general assemblies. They had, among other duties, the responsibility to ward off the ill-advice from the Ndiichie group on ritual, social and political matters in the state.

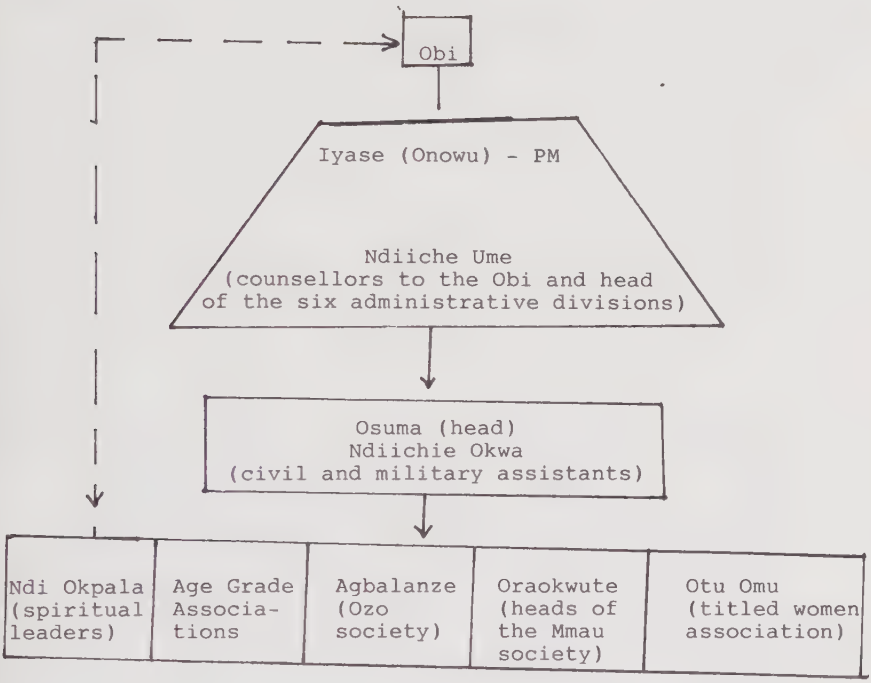
The Ndi Okpala could be seen to form a bridge of confidence, based on their religious position, between the Obi and the common people. The Ndiiche Okwa were a second grade of Ndiichie, in the political structure of the state. They were either civil or military assistants of the Obi. They occupy a lower political and social position than the Ndiiche Ume. While the Ndiichie Ume were the heads of the six Ebos, some of the Ndiichie Okwa could be appointed to head the subdivisions of the Ebo called "Ogbe".

In the case of the judical system in Onitsha, the person and court of the Obi was the highest court of his state. Sitting in council with his counsellors, the Ndiichie, the words of the Obi was the law.

The lower courts followed the hierarchical structure upon which the political system was built. Each Ndiiche acted as head and judge of his Ebo or Ogbe court.

The responsibility of helping to enforce the laws promugated by the political leaders seemed to be comparatively the same throughout Igboland.

Fig. 2.4.: The Structure of the Obi's Political Administration[71]



71. This political structure which shows the relation between the Obi of Onitsha as the head of his state and his subjects can be taken as an example of the political system which could be found in many of the states of the Niger Igbo. However, the designations for their various offices may sometimes greatly differ. Inspite of the existence of this royal political system, the "republican" ways of life which characterized the political system of the vast majority of the Igbo were never lacking among the Niger Igbo. Cf. Nzimiro, ibid., pp. 41-64. In such cases where no differences existed between the Niger Igbo and the other Igbo, it will be presumed that the appellation "Igbo" includes the Niger Igbo too.

2.5.3. The Eastern or Non-Niger Igbo[72]

While the origin of the Niger Igbo had been traced to the Edo and the Igala, (two ethnic groups which we shall later treat among the minority ethnic groups), the origin of the Eastern Igbo has constituted a very problematic and topical issue for sociologists, as well as political analysists.

---

72. This title is only used in order to distinguish the other Igbo who live in the mainland, the heart of Igboland, from the Igbo who live along the banks of the river Niger. There exist, however, no agreed traditional appellation under such title. It only serve as a sort of designation for those areas of Igboland where the kingship systems were unknown before colonialism. It is common, however, for the Onitshy Igbo to refer to the other Igbo as "nwa Onye Igbo" meaning "son of the Igbo". This could logically mean that the Onitsha Igbo did not see themselves as Igbo. The result of my investigation into this case showed that some of the Onitsha people regarded themselves more as "people of Onitsha", the name of their geographical area, than just Igbo. When we agree that this was not meant as a sort of despite for the other Igbo, we can also look for other reasons for it. It could also be regarded as a sort of haugtiness in comparison with the non-Onitsha Igbo.
Such internal rivalry is, however, not uncommon among peoples of the same ethnic group. It belongs to the competitive nature of the Igbo societies.
The groups of the Igbo peoples who find themselves under the heading, Eastern Igbo, include: the peoples of Nsukka, Agbaja, Abakaliki, Awgu, Nkanu, Awka, Afikpo, Umuahia, Ngwa, Owerri, Orlu, Aro and other Igbo peoples outside the Niger areas. (These names included all those living around the mentioned towns, as shown in the map. The groups can also come under Forde and Jones' classification of: Owerri Igbo, North-eastern Igbo and Cross River Igbo). Cf. Forde and Jones, The Ibo and Ibibio speaking Peoples of South-eastern Nigeria, 1950, p. 10.

The social and political features of the Igbo seemed very unique to them alone when compared with other ethnic groups of Nigeria. This makes it nearly impossible to conclusively, trace their ancestorial origin.[73]
These difficulties, notwithstanding, emphasis had later been laid on the hypothesis that the Igbo possess some cultural similaries with the ancient Egypt. Just like in the case of the Yoruba, those system of preparing the dead for burial is similar to what obtained in Egypt, and the "Opa Oranya" (the wooden stalk found at the grave of the ancestors of the Youruba) was said to be similar to those exist in the Egyptian Museum, so also is the "Sun-worship" by the Igbo posited as a criterion for relating the Igbo to the accient Egyptian.[74] This is because a similar ritual exists in the Egyptian culture.

---

73. Elizabeth Isichei, The History of the Igbo People, Macmillian, London, 1976. See also E.N. Njaka, Igbo Political Culture, North-western University Press, Evanston, 1974. Njaka, basing his thesis on legendary and oral narratives, wrote of the speculation which tried to relate the Igbo to the "lost tribe of Israel". Some speculation, he said, stems from the fact that the Igbo were often referred to as the "Jews of Africa or West Africa". The name "Igbo" itself was often traced to the word "Hebrew". The difference might have resulted from mispronounciation, some presume. There exist, however, towns in Igboland called "Uburu", "Mburubu", "Ibru" or "Ubru". All these names sound like "Hebrew". But these remain hypotheses which, until now, lack scientific proof. Cf. Njaka, ibid., pp. 16-17.

74. Cf. Meek, Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe, London, 1937, p. 5. The view that the Igbo are related to the Egyptians was also reported in D. Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 9. Most likely, it was on the basis of this hypothesis from oral tradition and the narratives in the works of these authors that brought about the widely held view that the Igbo peoples must have migrated into Nigeria from one of the Middle-east countries. "Independent Nigeria", in: The People of Nigeria, Government Printers, Lagos, 1960, p. 13.

2.5.4. Igbo Political Philosophy

Inspite of whatever differences in origins that might have existed among the Igbo peoples, they shared a common political consciousness of their individuality. This could be one of those reason why most of more than five hundred villages[75] of Igboland have never developed a common centralized political consciousness. They had rather always seen themselves in their autonomous individualities.[76] The village administrative frameworks were such that each was partially undisturbed and unconcerned about those of its neighbours. Yet, they were fully of their cultural or ancestorial relationship and interdependence.[77]

---

75. Cf. Forde and Jones, The Igbo and Ibibio speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, London, 1950.

76. Njaka writing about "Individualism" as it exists among the Igbo said: " Igbo are very individualistic, and at the same time they stress the group more than the individual. Igbo is a group society which emphasizes a communion of persons more than an individual". In trying to show how this individualism of the Igbo is at the same time a form of collectivism, Njaka said, "However, the individual claims an extraordinary autonomy within the society and it is his belongingness to this group society that helps to develop in him his potentials, his initiative and drive for achievement, his originality, and his ability to ward off inordinately self ambitions which could remove him from the societys communion... His union within a communion of persons give him pride, boldness and individualism". Njaka, Igbo Political Culture, p. 60.

77. Kenneth Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885, London, 1956. Dike tried to emphasize the point that there was some fundament consciousness of unity in the Igbo political thought inspite of the "apparent fragmentation of authority". This unity, he said, was not only on the level of their cultural and religious similarity but extended also into the spheres of politics and economic.

This sense of political autonomy had been thought to be caused by the rather isolated nature of Igbo villages from one another. With the tropical wild forest serving as natural barrieres, communities were, thus, protected from external political aggressors. This was seen by some political analysts as a likely reason for the relatively non-existence of a united Igbo empire like the Fulani or the Oyo empires.[78]
The truth remained that the Igbo were so conscious of their freedom and would not accept any sort of unqualified interferance in their personal affairs.[79]
Yet, they remained known for their ability to adapt themselves to the innovation of any authority or administrative body that might be placed over them.[80] Such readiness to adapt is, however, under the condition that such lording authority allowed them enough room in the system for their participation and their individuality.

---

78. Cf. J.S. Coleman, Nigeria-Background to Nationalism, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, p. 28. Coleman also posited the view that the existence of thick forest hindering one village from the other was, among many reasons, responsible for the political isolation of the Igbo villages resulting in the non-existence of an Igbo central political organ. The emphasis on political autonomy of the Igbo villages, when seen from the perspective of the Igbo cultural emphasis upon "individual achievement", could lead to a better understanding of the Igbo political structure than just seeing the bushes as obstacles to the creation of a centralized government.

79. D. Forde and G.I. Jones, op.cit., p. 20. These authors summaried the attitude of the Igbo to external authorities by saying that the Igbo "dislike and suspect any form of external government or authority". One would rather add: "if such authorities are imposed on the Igbo, or the authority tries to deprive him of his individuality".

80. Cf. S. Ottenberg, Ibo Receptivity to Change, in Bascom and Herskovit (eds.), Continuity and Change in African Cultures, Chicago, 1959, pp. 130-143.

The Igbo were very used to such political society in their villages in which the affairs of the community were the responsibility of everyone. Everyone had the right to contribute his opinion to the decisions guiding the affairs of the community.[81]

This made it inconceivable for the Igbo to accept any political structure within which his individuality was not accorded its relative autonomy. Individual autonomy that existed within the Igbo culture, however, actualized itself only within a highly accentuated participative administration.

That is an administrative structure in which the will of the individual found its realization in the will of the community. That is the Igbo political philosophy. Njaka summed it up by emphasizing the fact, that "a government which does not afford him (the Igbo) an opportunity to participate actively is not parademocratic and cannot be countenanced".[82]

Sklar and Whitaker shared Njaka's opinion. They saw the characteristic feature of the traditional Igbo government as "republican" and, "by virtue of a high degree of popular

---

81. Cf. J.C. Anene, Sothern Nigeria in Transition, 1855-1906. Theory and Practice in a Colonial Protectorate, Cambridge Univertsity Press, 1966, p. 14.

82. Njaka, Igbo Political Culture, p. 55. Njaka went further into the analysis of Igbo political culture by emphasizing the role played by each individual, including the dead and the unborn, in the political structure of the community. He used the word "Parademocracy" to describe the whole conceptual structure of Igbo political life. He summed it up as "Ohacracy". "Oha" is an Igbo word which means "group". The word brings out the intrinsic attitude of the Igbo to politics. That is, politics in which the individuality of each member has emphasis. Yet, the individuality could only find its fulfilment in the group community. "Ohacracy" thus describes the Igbo philosophy of politics in which the self and the group form the basis of their political realization. Cf. Njaka, pp. 53-58.

participation in actual making of decisions, parademocratic".[83]

---

83. R.L. Sklar and C.S. Whitaker (Jr.), The Federal Republic of Nigeria, in: G.M. Carter (ed.), National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States, Cornell University Press, N.Y., 1966, p. 15.

Fig. 2.5.: Political Structure of an Igbo Village

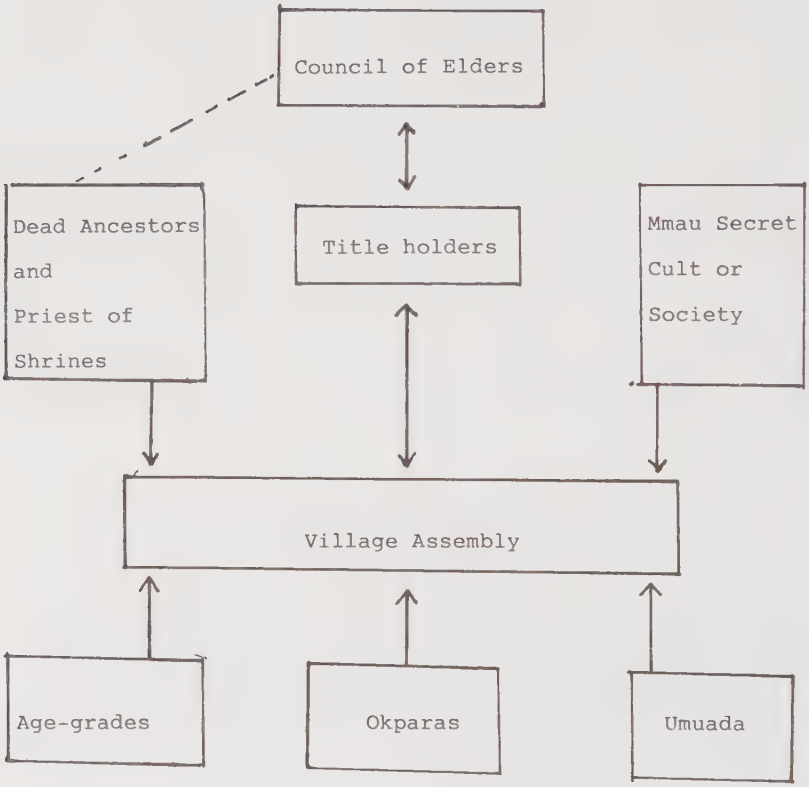
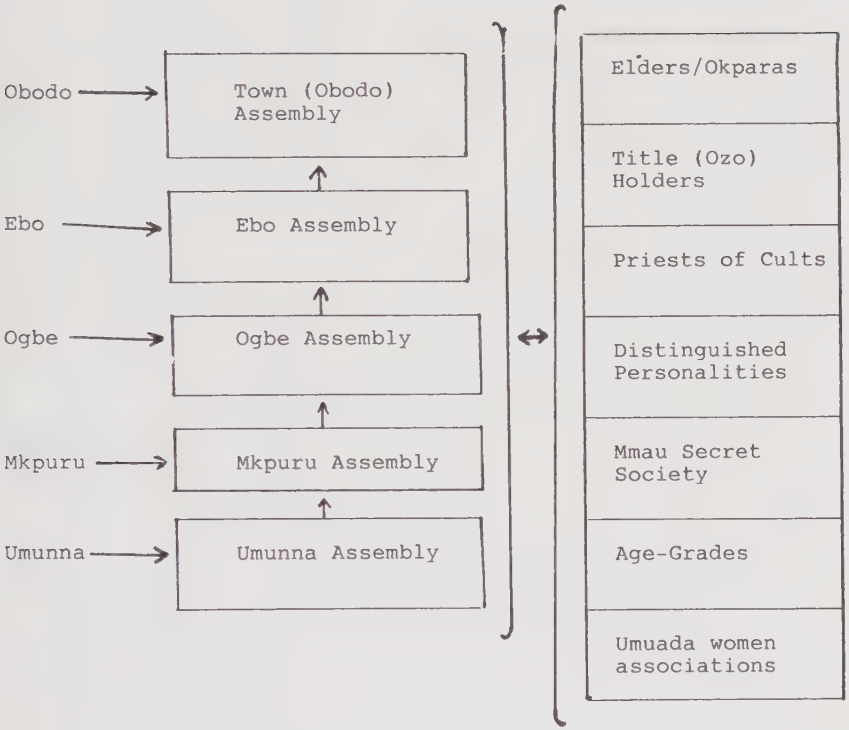


Fig. 2.6.: Political Organs in Igboland



2.5.5. The Political Administration in an Igbo Village

The Igbo towns were made up of related villages separated from one another with each enjoying a relative uninterferred autonomy. Because of this, one would not expect them to have elaborate administrative structures. If the Igbo political structure were to be compared with those of the Yoruba or the Hausa/Fulani, one would say that the Igbo had no such leadership personalities with positions defined by laws. This should not be interpreted to mean that the Igbo have no governmental system of administration. Rather, one should see the government of the Igbo within the structure of their political philosophy of "Ohacracy".[84]

The Igbo political structure had, sometimes,been described as gerontocratic. This assertion could be correct to a great extent[85] when consideration is taken of the emphasis placed on age in the whole political, social and religious attitude of the Igbo. It was only the 'Okpara',[76] (the eldest in the family circles), that could automatically become the political head of the family. In whatever stage within the political structure, places were always created for the existence of a "Council of Elders". The role of the different age-groups was of great importance in the decision-making process of the Igbo village politics.

---

84. Cf. Njaka, ibid., p. 53.

85. Cf. Elizabeth Isichei, A History of the Igbo People, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1976, p. 22.

86. "Okpara" is the designation for the first male of a family. In many areas of Igboland he could also be regarded as the eldest of a series of families which he represented. He was also the spiritual leader of his family or of the group of related families. See also Fajana and Biggs, Nigeria in History, p. 137.

A scholar of Igbo politics cannot but be struck by the fact of the emphasis placed on age in the whole social, political, religious and even economic set-up of the Igbo communities. Age was, however, not the only determining factor for positions of power in Igbo society.[87] Greater emphasis was equally laid on personal achievement. Such achievement could be in the form of aquired wealth, power of speech, personality based on sincerity of character, demonstration of prowess, or acquired intellectual ability. One's cherished achievements could automatically give the one the chance of assuming the leadership role within the community.[88]
In very many cases, only those people who were able to accredit themselves with some personal achievement were allowed to sit in council with the elders. It was mostly the rich Igbo, or men of great honour and achievement that could afford the expenses of "taking a title". The taking of a title was seen as a social and political elevation of one's status. But in traditional Igbo society, only people of moral integrity were allowed to take titles.

---

87. Cf. S. Ottenberg, Improvement Associations among the Afikpo Igbo, in: Africa, Vol. 25, 1955, pp.1-28.

88. Cf. Chinua Achebe, Things Fall Apart, Heinemann, London, 1958. Achebe in his book depicted the Igbo society in which the hero Okonkwo was shown to have acquired the leadership role in his community cecause of his personal abilities irrespective of his youthful age. That was in keeping with the Igbo proverb: "Nwata kwo aka, Osolu ndi okeyi rie nni". This leterally means: when a child washes his hands clean, he can sit at table with the elders too. The emphasis on personal achievement was thus depicted with such proverb. See also Njaka, op.cit., p.. 62-63.

Although Igbo towns contain many districts, which are subsequently sub-divided into smaller districts, the centre of political activity among the Igbo was not usually on the town (Obodo) level.
An assembly of the Obodo could be called upon only when a decision demanded the attention of the whole town. It was rather at the lower level of the "Umunna",[89] that a rather more organized political structure existed among the Igbo.

2.5.5.1. The Umunna and the Village Assembly

It was at the level of the Umunna that a scholar could find a more functioning centralized leadership with all the facets of government in operation. The legislative body in the village was the "Village Assembly". It was headed by the 'council of elders', the role of the leader of the council was played by the eldest of the village, while the position of speaker or the announcer was, in most cases, based on the proven initiative of a member in performing such duties.
Any of these leadership roles could be lost to more competent persons at any time. This also applied to any of the leadership functions in the community which were not legally based on personal right. Such political philosophy made the Igbo society highly competitive. Everyone strove to acquire an honourable

---

89. "Umunna" literally means: "children of the same father". But the meaning, in actual fact, is wider than this literal interpretation. It is a designation for the extended relatives who lived together in a village. In some cases, people who were in no way biologically related, were members of the same village- Umunna. The fathers meant in the words are the ancestors. That means, people who share the same ancestors belong to the same "Umunna".

personality based on personal achievement.[90]
This had, no doubt, its advantages and disadvantages. While, on the one hand, it gave room for the best to be in the position of leadership, encouraging dutifulness and zeal to work for the community; on the other hand, it, sometimes, aroused envy and petty jealousy among the members of a community

The village assembly was a forum in which all the representatives of the various family groups, in most cases, the Okparas were present.
The assembly was, however, open to all the members of the village who were old enough to participate in the political structure of the village. In some areas of Igboland, the village assembly was open to all persons. It was in this assembly that decisions concerning the welfare of the village were usually taken, and in which the members of the various groups in the community could express their views.
Groups such as the Umuada,[91] or the various age-grade[92] groups, and other groupings which differed from place to place, could be officially represent by their members.

---

90. M.M. Green, Igbo-Village Affairs, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1947, p. 255.

91. "Umuada" means literally "daughters", In most Igbo political society, the Umuada is the organisation of women which afforded them the opportunity to discuss the affairs of the village in relation to the contribution demanded of them as women.

92. "Age-grade system" is a system of organisation found in most areas of Igboland. Whereby, males (in some areas females also) of approximately the same age grouped themselves into an association. The groups of age-grades, where they existed, engaged in competition between themselves. The prominence of an age-grade was measured in terms of the political, economic and social contribution made toward the welfare of the village. Each age-grade did everything to show its group as honourable before the community. Almost all males of the village belonged to one age-grade or the other. This made it easy for any immoral or unlawful act of a member of an age-grade to be seen, not only as an

A group or an individual could also cause the assembly to be summoned to discuss pertinent issues. The judicial welfare of an Igbo village was also taken care of by the council of elders who were assisted by the priests of the shrines and the Mmau secret society.[93] Most minor legal suits were, however, treated within the groups to which the litigators belonged.[94] Sometimes,judicial cases which required the general views of the whole village were brought before the village assembly and not left to the council of elders.

The functions of the police in the villages were carried out by the Mmau group. Masked, they punished defaulters and collected fines. They were feared and respected. Because the Mmau were believed to be the masked spirit of the ancestors, they were regarded as sacred and just. In some areas the Mmau groups were also helped by designated age-groups[95] who were always ready to carry out services for their community.

---

insult on the village, but also as a defamation of the one's age-group. This is why one can rightly maintain that the age-grade served as an instrument of social control for its members and the villages. Cf. S. Ottenberg, Improvement Association among Afikpo Igbo in Africa, Vol. 25, Jan. 1955, pp. 1-28. See also E. Isichei, A History of the Igbo People, p. 22.

93. "Mmau" is a masquarade believed to be the spirit of the dead ancestor who masked himself to come into the midst of his people. Mmau is also the name for the group responsible for organizing the masquarade. In many areas of Igboland, Mmau is a form of secret society exclusively for men. In some other areas, however, the membership of women, elderly women in most cases, is allowed. A non-member could be servely punished for saying that the Mmau is a human being.

94. E. Isichei, ibid., p. 23.

95. Ibid., p. 23. Also see Lord Hailey, African Survey, A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara, Oxford University Press, London, 1957, p. 34.

With such political structure, an Igbo could find his freedom and individuality only within his community life in which he had a responsible role to play.

2.5.6. Religion in Igbo Political Structure

Just as the political organs of the Igbo was decentralized, so decentralized too was the role of religion in the whole conceptual framework of Igbo politics. Inspite of that, the role of religion found its ways into the different levels of the political organs. Each Igbo was in himself seen as a religious phenomenon, because every Igbo was believed to have in him his personal deity which was called "Chi". This meant that the Igbo, in exercising his political role in the society, presumed he was been guided by his "Chi".[96] On the other hand too, the representatives of each of the families, the Okpara, were not only the political head of their groups but were also the religious heads. The Okpara held the Ofo, which is the religious symbol of power for his group. Njaka went as far as maintaining the point of view, that there was no dichotomy between the political activity of the state and her religious functions.[97] While this assertion could be justified to some extent, one cannot definitely interprete that to mean that all the political activities were regulated by religion alone.

---

96. Cf. Njaka, op.cit., pp. 29-33. Njaka tried to draw a connection between Igbo belief in the personal "Chi" and the concept of individualism among the Igbo. He gave an insight into this belief in its relation to politics.

97. Cf. Njaka, p. 135.

However, it will be admitted that religious moral norms demanded certain standard in the exercise of political authority, or regulated political behaviours. The norms of religion was a standard for every Igbo.
Since he was in his person, by reason of his Chi, already related to religion, he was as such bounded by the norms of his traditional religion.
The role of religion in the Igbo politics was most conspicuous in the judical system. The spirits of the dead ancestors, the priests of the shrines and the elders who were believed to be nearest to the ancestors, formed the court of last jurisdiction. It was with the use of religion and the belief in the supreme deity "Chukwu", that the Aros used to displace the village courts of the elders,whereby the Aro Chukwu Oracle became for most Igbo the last court of appeal. The Arochukwu was the Oracle only central organ which succeeded in unifying almost all Igbo political societies into a juridical-political people.
Nevertheless, this did not in any way interrupt the parademocratial nature of Igbo politics, nor did it succeed in erasing the spirit of individualism in Igbo political thought. Aro Chukwu Oracle, serving as a judical forum for most peoples of Igboland, brought in a sense of unity into the people's religion and helped in guarding the norms of their political activities.

2.6. Nigerian Ethnic Minorities

Although the Hausa/Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba seemed to have monopolized the political scene of Nigeria, and have, thus, attracted such attention to themselves which helped elevate them to be regarded as the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria,they, however, owe this appellation more to their population, among other reasons, rather than to any deep traditional importance. Some of the other ethnic groups which are generally classified as the minority ethnic groups have even more historical relevance to a traditional Nigeria than some of the major ethnic groups. The presence of the Yoruba within the geographical areas of Nigeria was traced only to the 14th century.[98]

The first contact of the Igbo with the outside world was only as late as the 15th century when she became an object of exploitative slavery for Portugese and later for Columbus' newly founded America,[99] although later history approved of the long existence of the Igbos in the areas they now occupy.[100]

---

98. Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 39. From an information attribute to Peter Morton-Williams who suggested that Oyo, which is the seat of the Yoruba Oyo empire, was founded between 1390 and 1440.

99. Egharevba reported that Oba Ewuare of Benin who reigned about 1440-1473 fought against the Igbo towns in his bid to get the required slaves which accounted for his economic and political success.
See Egharevba, A Short History of Benin, pp. 15-19.

100. See M.A. Onwuejeogwu and B.N. Akunne, in Odinani, Journal of Odinani Museum, Nri, (March 1972), p. 10, quoted in: E. Isichei, A History of the Igbo People, Macmillan, London, 1976, p. 10.

The record of the history of the Hausa in Nigeria was not earlier than the 14th century, although the existence of the Hausa states was traced to the 11th century. But minor ethnic groups like the Kanuri of the Kanem-Bornu empire and the Edo of the Benin kingdom had maintained foreign relationships long before anything was known about some of the so-called major ethnic groups.
This is why it would be necessary to examine the political worth of the traditional government of some of such minority groups, pointing out the role religion played in their administrations.

2.6.1. The Kanem-Bornu Empire of the Kanuri

Before the 11th century the people of the Kanem-Bornu empire had recorded contacts with the Islamic Arab world.[101] Kanem-Bornu, is today confined only within the geographical areas of northern part of Nigeria. But as early as the 9th century the geographical boundaries of the empire had extended North-east of Lake Chad which are now parts of the present Republic of Chad. The empire was bounded on the South by the Jukuns, another ethnic group of the North.

Historical records revealed that the empire had existed even by the A.D. 800[102] when tribes whose origin were traced to be Berbers, Arabs and Negros founded the empire which was

---

101. Hodgkin, p. 9.

102. J.S. Fage, Introduction to the History of West Africa, Cambridge, 1959, also see Yves Urvoy, Histoire de L'empire du Bornu, Paris, 1949, p. 26.

later to be of great historical importance.[103]
The Berbers and Arabs had been thought to have descended southwards from Yemen. They settled down in the Kanem regions with the aborigines, with whom they founded the Sefuwa[104] dynasty. The dynasty accounted for the political administration of the empire for almost ten centuries.[105]

By the 7th century Islam had already penetrated the Northern parts of Africa and her African and Arabic converts had started engaging themselves in their missionary enterprise toward the Atlantic. The Muslim missionaries were motivated, most probably, not only by their religious zeal, but also by their economic and political ambitions.[106]
The Muslim missionary traders arrived in Kanem-Bornu in search of commercial wares, of which the most important were the "ungodly Traditional religion worshippers", who were sold out as slaves.

---

103. Leo Africanus, born c. 1489-1495, an Arab moslem originally named al-Hasa Ibn Muhamed al-Wazzau, al-Zayyatti, who was captured and taken slave by Sicilian Corsair about 1518 before he was handed over to Pope Leo X who baptised him and gave him the names Johannes Leo de Medicis. As a Christian, he wrote the report of his travel through the Sub-Sahara region in the 16th century and described Bornu as the 3rd most important state of the region coming after Gao and Gaoga. See Hodgkin, pp. 27, 101-102.

104. Sefuwa dynasty was founded by Sef (Sayf Ibn Dhi Yazen) and descendants kept to the throne till it was interrupted in 1814, but remained till 1846 when it was finally put to an end. See Urvoy, pp. 109-111.

105. Roland Cohen, The Kanuri of Bornu, Hold Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1967, pp. 6-18.

106. Fagana and Biggs, p. 161.

May be as commercial or political strategy, the Mai[107] Umme Jilmi was converted to Islam in the 11th century and, thus, began the Islamic rule in the empire.

2.6.1.1. Politics and Religion under the Leadership of the Mais

From the 11th century, Kanem-Bornu became, more or less, an Islamic empire. The Islamic code of law became the guiding principles for the social and political activities within the empire. After his conversion it became the function of the Mai to spread the religion to all the parts of his empire. The Mai, been the political as well as the religious leader of his empire, made it very difficult to separate any aspect of his political administration from the influence of Islam.[108] Mai Umme Jilmi was succeeded by his son Mai Dunama I. It was Mai Dunama (1097-1150) who gave the empire the unprecedented Islamic flavour which was to be followed by succeeding Mais. The enthusiasm resulting from the holy pilgrimage he made to Mecca by the 12th century further helped to open up his empire to the Islamic intellectual thoughts of the era.[109] When Mai Biri (1150-1176) came to the throne, he had only to expand on what had been establish by his predecessors.

---

107. The word "Mai" was the designative title for the rulers of the Kanem-Bornu empire until it was changed to "Shehu" in 1814 by Muhamed Al-Kanem who displaced the Mai dynasty.

108. See, The Mahram of Umme Jilmi, The coming of Islam, (transilated by H.R. Palmer), in: "The Bornu, Sahara and Sudan", London, 1936, pp. 14-15, in: Hodgkin, pp. 68-69.

109. J.S. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford, 1962, pp. 107-108.

Ambassadorial contacts were established between the empire and the Islamic nations of North Africa.[110] It was Mai Dunama II (c. 1221-1259) who brought the first empire, with Njimi as capital, to the height of its political and economic power.[111] Mai Dunama also introduced the policy of spreading Islam through territorial expansionism and commercial stranglation of the neighbouring ethnic groups.[112] Even before the eventual decadence of the first empire which started in the 14th century, a network of feudalistic and hierarchically structured administrative system based on the tenets of Islam had already been established.

2.6.1.2. Political Structure in Kanem-Bornu Empire

The political system of the Kanem-Bornu empire had its centre of power in the person of the Mai who was adorned with many spiritual and political titles. The Mai was assisted by a council of twelve advisers and other functionaries.[113] There was also a place for a Queen-Mother (Magaura) in the hierarchical structure of the empire. A more elaborate administrative system was later introduced by Mai Idris Alooma (c. 1570-1602) who came to the throne after the fall of the first empire. The first empire was a victim of internal conflicts and external agression from neighbouring ethnic groups.

---

110. Also in Palmer, p. 218.

111. Ibid., pp. 191-194.

112. H.R. Palmer, Sudame Memoirs, Vol. 3, p. 112.

113. Urvoy, p. 39.

The Bulalas in the South-east had constantly attached the empire. The second empire was founded by Mai Ali Ghaji (c. 1472-1503) after he succeeded in occupying the Bornu territories. Mai Ali Ghafi established a new capital in Ngazargamu[114] and thereby succeeded in laying the foundations for the achievement which was often attributed to Mai Idris Alooma. He used the Islamic laws to initiate sweeping political and social reforms into the second empire making it possible for empire to have the needed courage to engage in the various wars of expansion which characterized the reign of his successor, Idris Alooma.[115]

Using firearms imported from Tripoli, Idris Alooma succeeded in attaining a complete unification of the territories of the empire with many vassal paying tributes into the empire's treasury. With the relative peace and economic prosperity which marked out his period of reign, Alooma succeeded in using the Islamic legal, social and political principles to structurize his system of administration that made his period of reign one of the most organized in the history of the empire.[116]

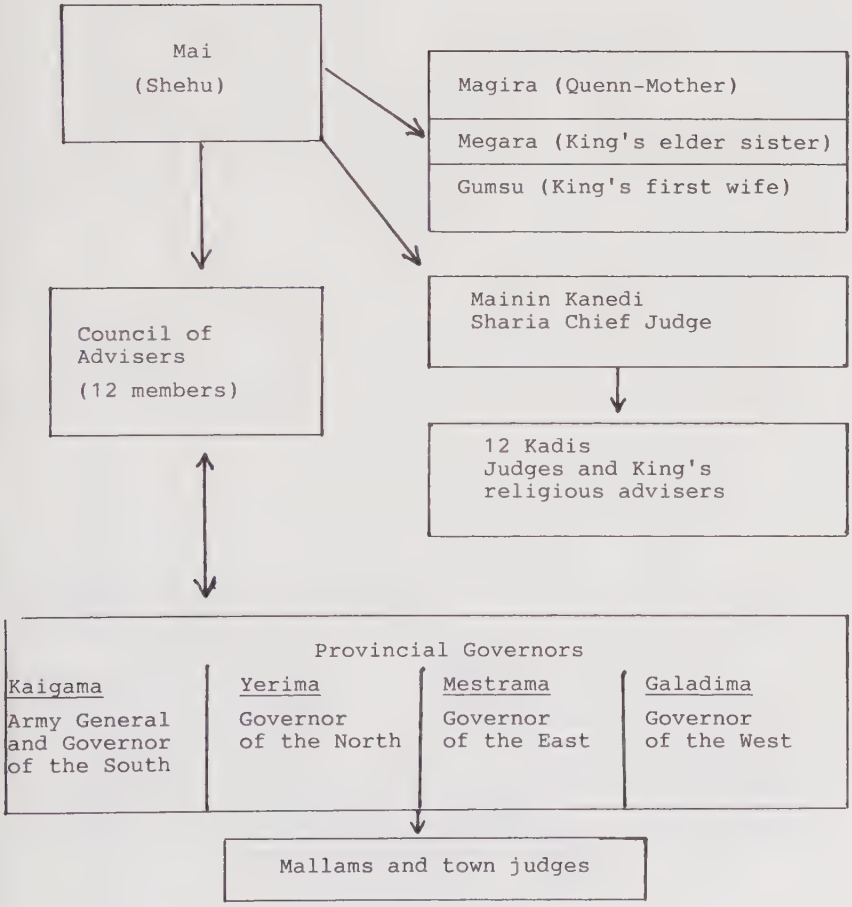
---

114. A. J. Arkell, History of Sudan, London, pp. 211-213.

115. Urvoy, pp. 75-79.

116. The detailed account of the political policies of Mai Idris Alooma could be found in: History of the First Twelve Years of the Region of Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu, by Iman Ahmed Ibn Fartua, (transilated by H.R. Palmer), Lagos, Govt. Printer, 1926, pp. 11-12, 33-34, see also "Ibn Farua, Mai Idris Alooma" from Ahmad Ibn Farua, The Kanem Wars, in Palmer Sudanese Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 49, 52-53 and 55-56, quoted in: Hodgkin, pp. 110-113.

Fig. 2.7.: The Structure of the Mai's Government



In the second Kanem-Bornu empire the Mai remained the political and religious overlord of the empire. He shared his executive office with a council of twelve members[117] whom he assigned to specific duties within the empire or entrusted with smaller territorial functions.
Most of the counsellors were usually drawn from aristocratic class of the empire, or else, were members of the royal family.[118] The four privincial governors were well members of the council of twelve, but the four were also charged specifically with the duties of governing the four provinces of the empire.[119] Although the provincial governors had the responsibilities of administering to their territories, they were helped by loyal appointees of the Mai who lived within those territories. The honourable provincial governors, on the other hand, lived in the capital with the Mai.[120]

---

117. In the later 19th century Kanem-Bornu empire in the era of the Shehus, Nachtigal reported that the council of state was called "Nokena" and the counsellors referred to as "Kokenawa", Gustav Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan, Berlin, 1879, Vol. 1, pp. 708-724, in: Hodgkin, pp. 290-293.

118. Trimingham, pp. 124.

119. Urvoy, p. 37.

120. The "Galadima" was the only provincial governors who lived in his own territory of Nguru. The other governors were kept in the capital to ward off any attempt they might likely make to arrogate political powers to themselves. It would be recalled that it was the power wrangle among the counsellors and members of the royal family that led to the weakening of the internal forces of the first Kanem-Bornu empire. ibid., pp. 54-55. The 'Kaigama', although a provincial governor, was also the commander-in-chief of the empire's army. The most important of the governors, however, remained according to the tradition the Yerima, the governor of the northern province of Yeri. Nachtigal referred to the Army chief in 1870 Kanem-Bornu as "Kachellawa".

Inspite of the Islamic tradition, in which women have always had to play a low profile in political administration, it could be noticed that the Mai political structure allowed enough places for the representative of women, the most powerful of them being the "Magira - The Queen-Mother".
Since the Islamic laws formed the governing priciples of the empire, the Mai was, therefore, assisted with advice by a set of twelve "Sharia judges" with the "Mainin Kanedi" as the leading judge.
It was the reponsibilities of these judges to ensure that the strict religious principles of Islam were legally and administratively adhered to in the whole empire.
On the lower level, the Mallams, who were Islamic teachers and judges, helped in the political as well as juridical administration of the towns and districts.
Although the Kanem-Bornu empire was already Muslim from the 11th century, the Othman dan Fodio jihad did not leave it out in a bid to impose a centrally organized Sokoto Fulani Islamic empire.[121]
The capital of Bornu was inccessantly attacked by the jihad party causing the reigning Mai Ahmed to flee his empire.
The first time a person outside the "Mai dynasty" came into the reins of power was in 1814, after Muhamed Al-Kanem had succeeded in warding off the invasion from the Sokoto empire and regained the capital, Ngazargama.[122]
He compensated himself by taking to the throne, thereby, establishing the "Shehu dynasty".

---

121. See A. Burdon, "The Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria", The Geographical Journal, Vol. 24, 1904, pp. 635-651, also see Al-Kanami-Bello correspondence, in: Hodgin, pp. 198-205.

122. D.J. Stenning, Savannah Normads, Oxford, 1959, pp. 30-35.

Being a very convinced Muslim, he introduced Islamic social and political reformations in the empire. Maybe, the reformation was intended at appeasing the Sokoto Fulani Emirs who had accused Kanem-Bornu of being ungodly.
Shehu Muhamed Al-Kanem and the subsequent Shehus till 1846, as the title "Shehu" depicted, regarded themselves more as spiritual leaders of the empire than as political heads. They allowed the Mais to maintain their titles and traditional role in the empire. That was the only period in the history of Bornu when a quasi dualism in the administrative structure was allowed. The person of the Mai represented the embodiment of the empire, while the Shehu was the spiritual lord. This dualistic stream of power did not, however, last very long. The Sefawa dynasty was eventually put to an end in 1846, after the Mai Ibraham was executed for plotting to overthrow Shehu Umar. Once more,the political and religious leadership of the empire rested on one person, the Shehu. A phenomenon that was carried into the modern Nigeria.[123]

2.6.2. Some Other Minor Ethnic Groups in the Northern Areas

To examine the political systems of all the minor tribes within the northern areas of Nigeria would involve a complete study in itself such as carried out by O. Temple.[124] All the same, one needs to make mention of some of the minor ethnic groups who have had very old traditional political systems and history.

---

123. See Roland Cohen, The Kanuri of Bornu, 1967, p. 18.

124. See O. Temple, Notes on the Tribes, Privinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1965.

The Junkuns:[125]

Their existence have been traced back by Meek to a period between A.D. 900-1000, when they migrated into their present area.

The Jeba:[126]

The republican-like Jeba people live around the highly plateau mainly in the areas of Kwoi and Kachia. Although surrounded by many Muslim communities, most of the Jeba ethnic groups succeeded in resisting the pruging influence of the Islamic system of administration which accompanied the 19th century jihad. Most continued with the Traditional religion and its ways of life, except that many have been convert to Islam and Christianity in the modern time.

The Tiv and the Idoma:[127]

These two ethnic groups find themselves in the geographical area of Nigeria generally referred to as the 'Middle Belt'. Their traditional political systems had been very republican knowing no monarchical authority. They had, however, leaders who were appointed by the elders. Like the Igbo they could be referred to as having a 'gerontocratic' type of political administration.

---

125. See D.K. Meek, A Sudanese Kingdom, London, 1931, and Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, Vol.1, London, 1925, p. 81.

126. See Meek, Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria, Vol. 2, London, 1931, pp. 120-122. See also Harold Gunn, Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria, International African Institute, London, 1953, pp. 220 ff.

127. See Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, Vol. 1, pp. 20 ff. See also Akiga Sai, Akiga's Story, The Tiv Tribe as seen by one of it's members, (trans. Rupert East), Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1965, D. Forde, P. Brown and R.G. Armstrong, People of the Niger Benue Confluence, I.A.I., London, 1955, pp. 18-20 and 91-97.

The Nupe[128] and the Igala:[129]

The Nupe and Igala remained two ethnic groups, which though have different languages, but their very similar traditions seemed to bring them closer. Both have had kingdoms ruled by kings which made the assimilation of Islam easier. While the Nupe kingdom was said by Nadel to have been found by Tsoede around the 15th century, the origin of Igala remained very unclear with speculations pointing to the Junkun or the Nupe as being the founders of their monarchical system.

---

128. S.F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium, London, 1942, pp. 72-74. Also see Forde, Brown and Armstrong, pp. 18-22, 80 ff.

129. J.S. Boston, The Igala kingdom, Ibadan, 1969.

2.6.3. Minor Ethnic Groups in the Southern Part of Nigeria

The number of ethnic groups in the South are not as many as those in the North which accounts for about 2/3 the number of ethnic groups in Nigeria.
Very much unlike the some of the ethnic groups that exist in the North, most of those in the South have very republican system of governments. Their very decentralized type of administration, lacked, in some cases, centralized authoritative leaders. But one of the minor ethnic groups which had a monarchic system was the Edo of Benin.

2.6.3.1. The Benin Kingdom of the Edo

The Edo, are a well mannered people occupying the geographical area now named Bendel state. They share the area with other minor ethnic groups. They are thought to have lived longest in the area, and they are considered one of the longest inhabitants of Nigeria. Some of them claimed they were there "from the beginning",[130] and have come from nowhere.
There exist, however, no very clear attestation to their origin. But, depending on oral tradition and the result of archaeological findings, a lot of speculations had arisen, giving room for many to think that they might have migrated into the area at a certain time in history.
Egharevba supposed that the Edo might have migrated into the area from Egypt through Sudan with some brief interruption to their journey at Ile-Ife.[131]

---

130. R.E. Bradbury, The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking People of South-West Nigeria and the Itsekiri (by P.C. Lloyd), London, 1957, p. 62.

131. J.U. Egharevba, A Short History of Benin, Ibadan, 1960, p. 1,

Undoutedly, there exists some religious, social and cultural relationship between the Yoruba and the Edo.
A fact which could give credit to Egharevba's theory.
But such relationship cannot be definitely assumed as a clear proof that both ethnic groups have a common ancestorial identity. Tradition remained, however, in favour of theory that the royal families of both peoples are fraternally related.
Whereby, it was believe that Benin kingdom was ruled by the Ogiso dynasty until about 13th century when the people could no longer tolerate the maladministration of the tyrannical Ogiso Obas. The unsatisfactory monarchical system had to give way to a rupublican administrative structure like those found among the South-eastern ethnic groups.
The decentralized system was equally found unsatisfactory after the appointed president of the kingdom. Evin-an, had selfishly appointed his son, Ogiamwen, as heir.[132]
With the demise of the republican administration, the direct relation between the Oyo royal house and Benin started after the Edo had sought the assistance of the Oduduwa dynasty for

---

132. Egharevba, pp. 3ff.

political leadership.[133]

Oranmiyan, a grandson of Oduduwa came to establish to ruling dynasty in Benin kingdom. Oranmiyan married an Edo wife, Erinmwinde, who gave birth to Eweka I who founded the royal dynasty about 1200[134] as Egharevba maintained, or about 1330[135] as Bradbury suggested.

It was probably on the bases of the assertion that Eweka I was the son of Oranmiyan that the association of the Edo with the Yoruba gained more credence.

---

133. See Bradbury, "The Historical Uses of Comparative Ethnography with special reference to Benin and the Yoruba", in: The Historian in Tropical Africa, London, 1964, pp. 145-164. The question remains whether the Edo had invited Oduduwa and so preferred the leadership of a foreign power in their kingdom. Or was it a preference that had not alternative judging form the political and military powers which had characterized the Oyo empire at the period in question? This theory becomes more questionable when consideration is taken of the fact that the dismissed Ogiomwen still had enough supported to help him fight Eweka I, when the latter wanted to transfer the capital of his kingdom from Usama to Benin city, where until then, was still administered by Ogiamwen. One could as well suppose that the overthrow of Ogiamwen was a political and military intrigue by disgruntled elements within, with the unconditional assistance of the Oduduwa dynasty, who on succeeding, decided to leave a lasting stamp in the royal house of Benin.

134. See Egharevba, 1960, pp. 85-86.

135. Bradbury, "Chronological Problems in the study of Benin History", in: Journal of the Historical Society in Nigeria, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1959, p. 285.

2.6.3.2. Political Administration in the Benin Kingdom

Another major similarity between the royal house of Benin and that of the Oyo was the existence in both monarchies of a regulative devise by which the powers of the kings were checked. While in the Oyo empire this function was carried out by the "Oyo-Mesi", their counterprat in the Benin kingdom could be seen as the council of kingmakers with the six members called 'Uzama'.
The history of Benin, however, nowhere connonted that the powers of this council was as elaborate as those of the "Oyo-Mesi", who could depose the Alafin of Oyo. But the fact that Ewedo, the son and successor of Eweka I had to transfer his headquarter from Usama to the city of Benin, probably to avert the control of the council, could justify the probability that the council of state, with time, arrogated to themselves powers comparable to those of their counterpart, the Oyo-Mesi,in Oyo.
The powers of the Oba was, nevertheless, checked by the presence of his chiefs with the "Iyase" as their leader.[136] The chiefs acted as advisers to the Oba. They were,at the same time,the link between the Oba and his subjects. The chiefs together with the "Enogie", who were the son of Obas, were each assigned a group of villages which they headed.[137] Each of the villages could be administered on behalf of an Enogie by appointed persons or by hereditary figures in the villages.[138]

---

136. Bradbury, the Benin Kingdom, pp. 36-37, 43-44.

137. Bradbury, p. 33.

138. Bradbury, p. 33.

2.6.3.3. Europeans in Benin Kingdom (1472)

Benin kingdom attained its appogee during the reign of Oba Ewuare who was estimated to have reigned from 1440-1473. It was during the period of his reign that the first set of Portugese arrived in the Benin kingdom in 1472.
This was, at the time, when the western end of the kingdom included Lagos and the northern side, went as far as Idah.
He developed the city of Benin.[139]
Inspite of the success of Ewuare's reign, he was known to have been very despotic and tyrannical. This fact which caused the migration of some of his subjugated peoples, accounting for the existence of the Urhobo and Isoko of the Niger delta,[140] which was founded by Igboeze, a son of the Oba of Benin.[141]
The Itsekiri on the Niger delta, was also founded in the 15th century of Ginuwa, a son of the Oba of Benin and some of the chiefs who accompanied him.[142]
Western Ijaw was said to owe her origin to Benin from where the forefathers must have migrated to escape the tyranny of Ewuare. However, the history of the origin of the Ijaws remained as controversial as those of many other ethnic groups.[143]

---

139. Egharevba, pp. 15-16. See also Blake, pp. 11-12, and Talbot, Vol. 1, pp. 155 ff.

140. Onigu Otite, Autonomy, and Dependence - The Urhobo kingdom of Okpe in Modern Nigeria, C. Hurst & Company, London, 1973, p. 2.

141. Otite, pp. 12-14.

142. Bradbury and Lloyd, pp. 174-179.

143. See J.B. Alagoa, The Small Brave City-State, A History of Brass-Nembe in the Niger Delta, Ibadan, 1964, pp. 34-42. See also Talbot, Vol. IV. p. 16.

The migration of the Western Igbo - the Agbor, Isellu-Ukwu, Ubulu-Ukwu, Okwasi-Ukwu, Aboh, and the Onitsha Igbo is estimated to have taken place later during the reign of Oba Esigie between 1504-1550.[144]

The reigns of the subsequent Obas after Ewuare were marked by their relationship with the Christians of the European world. It was a period within which Benin grew economically very prosperous from the advantages of her reciprocally exploitative commercial connections with the Portugese, Dutch and the English.[145]

The prosperity was the result of the thousands of slaves sold to the Europeans. Large and powerful army was built which succeeded in subduing many of the neighbouring tribes who paid tribute to the Oba while the captives from such wars yielded quick revenue for the empire by being sold as slaves to the waiting Europeans. The Europeans, of course, encouraged such adventures by supplying the required firearms for the invasions.[146]

The economical growth which marked the life of the kingdom between the 14th and 17th century could be pointed out to have contributed to the political downfall of the kingdom too. This view could be supported when consideration is taken of the internal disintergration of the kingdom owing to the various disagreements on the question of succession to the throne of the lucreative kingdom.

---

144. Talbot, Peoples of Southern Nigeria, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 158-169, 234-235.

145. J.W. Blake, Europeans in West Africa, 145o-1560, Vol. 1, pp. 132-151. See also Egharevba, p. 33.

146. See J.D. Fage, Introduction to the History of West Africa, London, 1955.

Vassal states ceased the opportunity of such internal disputes to assert their independence. By the 17th century Lagos and Warri, which were major parts of the kingdom, had started constituting themselves into independent states.
Gradually the economic, as well as the political powers of the Edo people, declined, making the kingdom politically weak. The kingdom maintained this condition until the British colonization.

2.6.3.4. Religion in the Edo Political System

However, absurd or exaggerative the views of John Adams about the Oba of Benin may be, the view helped in portraying the great relationship which existed between the throne of the Oba and the religion of the people of Benin.
Adam although erroneously pointed out that "the king of Benin is fetish, and the principal Object of adoration...."[147]
He went on to postulate that the Oba occupied a higher position than the Pope does in the Catholic Europe. He described the Oba not only as a direct assistant of God on earth, but also said that the Oba was seen as God who enjoyed the unconditional obedience and adoration of his subjects.[148]
The early Portugese Christian merchants and missionaries who visited Benin between the 15th and the 17th century, however, shared the views of Adams by inferring that the Obas were worshipped.

---

147. John Adams, Remarks on the country extending from cape Palmas to River Congo, London, 1873, pp. 111-114.

148. Ibid., pp. 111-114.

The missionaries interferred that the subject of the Obas believed the Obas had descended from heaven.[149]
An erroneous conclusion stemming from the Edo deep respect for their seniors, their cultures, and their Obas.
Setting aside the theological miscalculations embodied in such superficial assumptions, the salient point exposed by these conceptions remained the close association which was seen to have existed between the religious and political status of the Obas in Benin kingdom.

The very person of the Oba was regarded as sacred,[150] so that his political strength could only be measured from the point of view of the religious values and meanings attached to the power which is transmitted to the kingdom.
Unlike in the Oyo empire where the Oni of Ife constituted the religious power of the empire, while the Alafin of Oyo occupied the position of the political head of the same empire, in the Benin kingdom, the palace and person of the Oba remained the religious[151] and political[152] centre of the kingdom.
An actual 'separation of powers' did not exist in Benin kingdom.[153]
An Oba was the embodiment of the religious aspiration of his subjects, but was not a "God". He was, nevertheless, the incarnation of the expected religious and political order for the kingdom.

---

149. See J.W. Blake, Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560. Hakluyt Society, London, 1942, Vol. 1, pp. 150-151, and Vol. 2, pp. 254-255.

150. Bradbury, p. 40.

151. Bradbury, p. 42.

152. Bradbury, pp. 35-44.

153. Egharevba, p. 33.

On the basis of this analysis, one cannot rightly dissociate his political capacity from his religious status.
The Portugese who visited Benin from the 15th century were aware of these advantages in the person of the Oba, that was why they tried to exploit them to expound their commercial and missionary activities.[154]
With the aid of the prosperity which was derived from commercial relationship with the European merchants, the status of the Oba increased. The dual role as a religious and political giant of his people only waned after the introduction of colonialism.

2.6.4. Other Minor Ethnic Groups in the South of Nigeria[155]

Most other minor ethnic groups which live in the southern areas of Nigeria have very much politically and socially in common with the Igbo. However, many of them were not politically decentralized like the Igbo.
Some of those ethnic groups in the South which are geographically located nearer the Edo or the Yoruba had very weak forms of centralized administrative systems with known leaders and, sometimes, kings.

---

154. J.W. Blake, Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560, Vol. 1&2, London, 1942.

155. Cf. P.A. Talbot, People of Southern Nigeria, Vol, 1-4, Bradbury, op.cit., Also see J.C. Anene, Southern Nigeria in Transition, 1855-1906. Theory and Practice in a Colonial Protectorate, Cambridge, 1966. D. Forde and G.I. Jones, The Ibo- and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria, I.A.I. London, 1950.

On the other hand, those ethnic groups located nearer the Igbo areas cannot be identified as having had such centralized governments.

The Itsekiri, Isoko, Urhobo, and the Ijaw were examples of minor ethnic groups whose administrative structure had much affinities with those of the Edo, while the Ibibio, Efik, Ekoi, and Ijaw were examples of those groups whose governmental system could be likened to that of the Igbo.

Like the other ethnic groups, these minor ethnic groups have always the principles of their Traditional religion to dictate the tune of their traditional political system.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE PATH TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE NIGERIAN VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS

By the time, the Muslim Arabs were carrying out their missionary and commercial adventures into the Kanem-Bornu empire and the Hausa states in the 11th century, and the Portugese Catholic missionaries and merchants were pentrating into the Benin kingdom in the 15th century, little did both groups of adventurers know that they were preparing the grounds for the eventual unification of the various ethnic groups located within and between the areas of their operations, which was, later, named "Nigeria".

The Portugese succeeded in monopolizing the commercial activities on the South coastal regions, while the economic and social activities of the Arabs in the northern areas remained for long unchallenged. The monopolies of these earlier adventurers were broken by the incessant intrusions of other European powers into the African trade.
With the arrival in 1553, of the English Captain Thomas Windham and his group in Benin,[1] the gradual but steady attempt of Britain to dominate Nigeria started.
The English took the opportunity of the dwindling interest of the Portugese in the West African coastal region to spread out their commercial tentacles along the coast.

---

1. See, "Eden, English in Benin", in: Hodgkin, pp. 107-113. Mr. Richard Eden gave an account of Captain Windham's journey to Benin.

They also gradually penetrated into the hinterland of the coastal regions. The discovery of America and the subsequent developing of the natural resources found there gave extra impetus to the trade in human beings as slaves. The trade on slaves turned out to dominate the relationship between Africa and Europe. Britain was in the forefront of this trade.

By the 16th and 17th centuries, the British had succeeded in entering into trade agreements with coastal chiefs of Benin, Bonny,and Calabar. These chiefs were easily lured into signing contracts when they were offered such tantalizing gifts like cloths, cups, spirits, and braceletts.[2]
Millions of able-bodied natives were sold into slavery as a result of these nefacious trade contracts between the Europeans and the notorious chiefs. Goods manufactured in Europe were imported in exchange for the slaves.

3.1. The Exploration of the Hinterland

The increase in the demand for imported manufactured goods from Europe by the natives caused a corresponding increase in the demand for raw materials to meet up the needs of the growing British industries. This situation led to a gradual shift in the commercial interest, of the English, from slave-trade to trade in raw materials and manufactured goods.
The demand for raw materials from the areas of Nigeria also correspondingly increased.

---

2. James Welsh: A Voyage to Benin beyond the Country of Guinea made by Master James Welsh, who set foorth (foot) in the yeer (year) 1588, in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. IV, pp. 456-458.

Until the 18th century the coastal chiefs and their agents remained the major trading partners of the Europeans. They obtained their wares from the hinterland which was climatically unbearable for the Europeans.
The trade in slaves was,however, more lucreative and preferable for the coastal chiefs and agents who acted as middlemen. This was because slave-trade demanded lesser investment on their part.
Only brutal force for capturing the victims of slavery was needed on the part of the chiefs for the slave-trade.
The trade in raw materials, on the other hand, demanded a more cordial investive trade relationship between the coastal middlemen and the natives of the hinterland.

The impatience of some of the British merchants with the middlemen was signalled by their desire to have a direct contact with producers of the needed raw materials in the hinterland. This new found alternative trade led to the formation of the "African Association" in Britain, in 1788.[3] This Association had the exploration of the hinterland of the West African coastal regions,of which Nigeria remained an important part, as its major objective. They had the aim also of exploring the river Niger which flows through the hinterland. The exploration, it was hoped, would help open a direct contact with the hinterland and help in the exploitation of the raw materials needed for the industries which was developed partly from the financial profit made from the slave-trade.[4]

---

3. Cf. Robert Hallett (ed.), The Records of the African Association, 1788-1831, London, 1964.

4. See Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, London, 1964.

The "African Association" related in some form to the "Society for the Abolition of Slave-Trade", formed in 1787. While the latter had the aim of pressing for the abolition of slavery in Africa, the former sought means of maintaining the economic advantages of Britain should slavery be abolished.[5] Before the official abolition of slavery in 1807, the African Association under the leadership of people like Joseph Banks and Bryan Edwards, had recorded some successes in their objectives of a scientific exploration of the hinterland of Africa.

While some of the explorers travelled southwards from the northern Sahara region, others were assigned with the duty of going northwards from the coastal regions in their bid to discover the route of the river Niger which they believed would open the way into the hinterland.
It was with this objective that the Scot, Mungo Park, in 1795 carried out his explorative journey through a considerable length of the river Niger from Bathurst to Segon.[6]
Encouraged by the success of his first journey, Mungo Park who was a medical doctor in Peeples in the employ of the East Indian company, for the second time, offered his service in 1805 to the African Society. This time, it was to find out where the river Niger empties.

Before Park died at the Bussa Cataracts, he succeeded in leaving behind theories which attested to the fact that the Niger empties into the Atlantic ocean. He, thereby, contradicted the theory of the geographer Major Rennel who had claimed the Niger ended up in swamp called Wangara.[7]

---

5. See Crowder, op.cit., p. 107.

6. Ronald Miller (ed.), Travels of Mungo Park, London, 1954, pp. 149 ff.

7. Burns, op.cit., p. 78.

Even before Park died, the discovery of the Niger was no longer the concern of only the African Association, the British government had shown her interest in the exploration. It was the British government who footed the bill of the exploration undertaken in 1821 and 1825 by Clapperton, Denham, Richard Lander, and his other members.[8]
A member of the expedition, Mr. Tywhitt was named the British Consul resident in Kuka, in Bornu empire. He, however, died on 22. October 1824. His nomination to that office marked a very remarkable step in the incursion of the British government into the territorial areas of Nigeria.[9]

It was the the expedition which the brothers, John and Richard Lander undertook in 1830,under the patronage of the British government,that led to the final discovery of the route of the Niger.
The discovery of the Niger spurred the interest of the British merchants into moving their areas of trade inwards from the coastal delta regions.
The Liverpool merchant, MacGregor Laird, was one of the first to take advantage of Lander's discovery. He set up a company in 1832 which was charged with the task of exploring the chance of trade along the banks of the River Niger.[10]

3.2. The Beginning of British Colonization of Nigeria

It should be recalled that it was within the period about 1841 that Christianity started, for the second time, filtering into the coastal regions of Nigeria.

---

8. Ibid., pp. 82-85.
9. Ibid., p. 85.
10. Ibid., p. 90.

The evangelization began with the adventure of the Church Missionary Society, sponsored by the "Society for the Extinction of Slavery" in Britain.
One could effectively see the advent of Christianity in relationship with the colonization and commercialization of Nigeria. Although commerce could be seen as the primary aim of the British with evangelization as a secondary objective, each progressive success seemed to stimulate the political interest of Britain to colonize Nigeria.
It was, however, under the cover of commercial interest and the zeal to evangelize the peoples of Nigeria that Britain succeeded in extending its powers into the political structure of traditional Nigeria.[11]

3.2.1. The Appointment of a Consul

To care for the rapidly growing trade in palm oil between Britain and the coastal people of Nigeria, the British government appointed in 1849 John Beecroft as the first British Consul to the Bight of Benin and Biafra which were the coastal regions of Nigeria.
Beecroft was sharged the duty of protecting the interest of the British merchants in the Bonny area. Before his appointment, Beecroft had resided at the Spanish administered island of Fernando Po where he was appointed governor by Spain in 1843.

---

11. See also the commentary of Emmanuel Ayandele on the relationship between British politics and the evangelization in Nigeria, in: "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria", 1870-1914. J.H.S.N., Vol. 3, No. 3, Dec. 1966, p. 505.

It was in Fernando Po that he gained "the experience of ruling Africans" which attracted the British government. His appointment and the role he played in his capacity as British Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra laid the foundation of British imperialism in Nigeria.[12]

When one, however, takes into consideration the situation in the delta and coastal regions at the early parts of 19th century, one cannot but justify the appointment of a supreme administrator. The coastal chiefs in conjunction with their British trading partners had hitherto, exercised unchecked and unscrupulous powers over the natives.
Some of the British merchants were just as barbaric as the chiefs. Both were united in their conspiracy to dehumanize the natives by using them as tools in maximazing their economic gains. The natives bore the burden of the situation, eigher in the slave-trade, which was then hiddenly practised, or in the legal trade in palm oil.

The statistical data published in the report of the " House of Commons Select Committee on Slave Trade" in 1848 showed that there was scarcely any major change in the slave-trade when the data between 1798 and 1847 were compared.
The minimal fall in the trade between 1840 and 1846 could be attributed to the incessant campaign against the trade at the period.

---

12. See K.O. Dike, "John Beecroft, 1790-1854: Her Britannic Majesty's Consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra, 1849-54", in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1956, pp. 5-14, also see Burns, op.cit., pp. 109-110, and Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, pp. 41-42.

1798-1810	---	85,000	slaves	were	exported annually.[13]
1840	---	64,114	"	"	"
1843	---	55,062	"	"	"
1846	---	76,117	"	"	"
1847	---	84,356	"	"	"

By the time slavery was declared illegal by Britain in 1807, the number of the slaves exported annually was 85,000, almost equal to the number 40 years later showing no substantial change in the attitude to slavery. The reported abolition could be said to be only on paper.
Statistical data, however, also shows that the legitimate trade in palm oil at the same period recorded an encouraging growth.

1808 ---	200	ton	palm	oil	was	exported	into Britain[14]
1819 ---	300	"	"	"	"	"	" "
1834 ---	13,945	"	"	"	"	"	" "
1839 ---	13,600	"	"	"	"	"	" "
1845 ---	25,285	"	"	"	"	"	" "

Such statistical evidence shows why a man as hard as Beecroft was needed to enforce the philanthropic ideas of some of the British who wanted the slave-trade to be brought to an end.[15] Beecroft's enthusiasm to put a stop to the slave-trade and to enforce other legitimate trades was the major canopy under which the British government interfered directly into the political powers of the natives of Nigeria.

---

13. Source: From statistical data published in Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 103.

14. Source: Extracts from Burns, p. 104, and Crowder, p. 104.

15. See Dike, op.cit., pp. 128-132.

It started with the forcing of King William Pepple of Bonny into signing a treaty on the regulation of trade between the British merchants and their Nigerian partners in 1850, on the complaint of the British traders of been maltreated by the king.[16]

3.3. The Christian Missionaries and Lagos Politics in 1850

The most crucial step in the involvement of the British in Nigerian affairs was when the Christian missionaries, who had by 1850 acquired some political recognisation and influence within the coastal area, instigated Britain and her Consul, Beecroft, to overthrow King Kosoko of Lagos.
Kosoko, no doubt, was notorious for his insistence on continuing the slave-trade because of the financial and economic benefit he was able to amass through the trade. Not only did the Christian missionaries based in Abeokuta found his stubborness a hinderance to their work of evangelization, the people of the hinterland, the Egbas, where the missionaries lived, also found Kosoko a hinderance to their rightful participation in other legitimate trades.[17]

The missionaries' political connection in Britain, especially through the foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, and in Nigeria were strong enough to have convinced Beecroft and his agents to attack Kosoko. Kosoko was later deposed giving way to his rival, the stooge of Beecroft, Akitoye. This Akitoye ascended the throne of Lagos as its king, but under condition stipulated by the British.

---

16. Dike,ibid., pp. 130-132.

17. E. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria, pp. 10 ff.

The deposition of Kosoko by Beecroft and the placing of Akiloye on the throne of Lagos marked the powerful beginning of the continuous interference of Britain into the politics of the peoples of the coastal areas. Beecroft's success in deposing Kosoko helped establish the power of the British governments and her agents in the region.
Beecroft successfully and effectively utilized his position as the British Consul to make himself arbitrator and judge within the areas of Calabar and Bonny.[18]
The terms of the treaty signed in 1852 between King Akitoye, on behalf of the people of Lagos, and Commodore Henry William Bruce and John Beecroft, on behalf of the British government, could logically be considered as placing the ruling powers of the king under the juridical pleasure of the Consul and Britain.

The missionaries must have achieved their aims, judging from Art. VIII of the treaty which reads: "Complete protection shall be afforded to Missionaries or Ministers of the Gospel of whatever nation or country following their vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrines of Christianity, and extending the benefits of civilization within the territories of the king and chiefs of Lagos.
Encouragement shall be given to such Missionaries or Ministers in the pursuit of industry, in building houses for their residence and schools and chapels. They shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the doctrines of Christianity to all persons willing and desirous to be taught,

---

18. See Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, pp. 152-159, 162-165. Also see Burns, pp. 111-122.

nor shall any subject of the king and chiefs of Lagos who may embrace the Christian faith be, on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever...."[19]

In order to make sure the terms of the treaty were enforced, the British government had to appoint a Vice-Consul for Lagos. This appointment later led to the appointment of Mr. Campbell as special Consul for Lagos and the Bight of Benin in 1853. John Beecroft was left as Consul to the Bight of Bonny, an area generally then referred to as Oil River and Niger areas. With the death of King Akitoye, his son Domusu was enthroned with the support of the British.

The British soon found reasons to be displeased with Domusu whose powers they claimed owed its legitimacy to Britain. The occupation of Lagos was ordered by the British foreign office. In 1861 Britain forced a treaty of Domusu in which he was compelled to cede the territory of Lagos to Britain. Lagos, thus, became a British colony under the leadership of a Governor, Henry Freeman. The areas surrounding Lagos were gradually incorporated into this colony. So began the actual colonization of Nigeria by Britain.[20]

---

19. Quoted from Burns, (Appendix C, Treaty with Lagos, 1952, Art. VIII), pp. 302-304.

20. See also E. Ayandele, op.cit., pp. 13-15.

3.4. British Administration of the Hinterland 1861-1874)

Although Britain had, by 1861, converted Lagos into a colony, many parts of Nigeria still remained untouched by the influence of Britain, except for the occasional visits of some European travellers or traders.
Trade still concentrated around the deltas, with palm oil forming the most acceptable item of trade.
Through most of the rivers wich empty into the Atlantic Ocean around the delta, some of the more daring European merchants found their way into the hinterland. The River Niger was the most popular waterway at this time. Many British merchants realizing it was cheaper to buy the products in the hinterland, forced their way up the Niger inspite of the vehement protests and physical attacks by the chiefs of the coastal regions and their agents. The coast chiefs who had amassed great wealth to themselves through their role as middlemen between the European buyers and the native producers of the hinterland were afraid of the loosing their positions as middlemen.
The middlemen of Brass and Bonny, as feared, were most effected by the intrusion of the British merchants into the producing markets. The success of the inland trade could be attributed to the daring spirit of Mr. MacGregor Laird[21] who sent his trading ship up the Niger at least once a year.

By 1861 Dr. Baikie had acquired for himself some respectable position at Lokoja, an area situated at the confluence of the River Niger and Benue.

---

21. See K.O. Dike, op.cit., pp. 61-64. Dike gave a detailed account of the commercial activities of MacGregor Laird in his book "Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885".

The administrative work he started there was crowned by the appointment of Mr. J.L. McLeod as British Consul for Lokoja in 1866. The appointment of a British Consul for Lokoja could be seen as historical and remarkable because it succeeded in shifting British political administrative interest North of the delta regions of Nigeria.
It made this occasion the first major step towards the political relationship between the southern areas of Nigeria and the northern side.

While the British traders advanced northwards in search of better trading markets, they were closely followed by their political counterparts. The Christian missionaries seemed to have assumed the role of forerunners in such movements.
With time, the Consul at the Oil River areas consolidated his powers. The constant quarells which erupted in the areas as a result of commercial rivalries between the competing chiefs on the one hand, and between the middlemen and the European traders on the other hand, gave the Consul extra moments to let his administrative and judicial influence be felt.
It was only in 1872 that an Order in Council was issued by the British government which legally conferred on the Consul those powers he had hitherto assumed to himself.
He was given the powers fo fine, banish, or imprison defaulters.[22]
The powers conferred on the Consul could be justified judging from the rate of crime and confusion which existed within the areas as a result of the uncontrolled competitions among the merchants and their middlemen. Yet, the political implications of the conferred power should not be overlooked.

---

22. Burns, op.cit., pp. 140-141. See also Dike, op.cit., pp. 142 ff.

3.5. Sir George Goldie and the Role of the Royal Niger Company in Nigeria

On the events which analysts of Nigerian political history consider crucial was the formation of the United African Company by the astude George Goldie Taubmann (later knighted Sir George Goldie) in 1879. This is crucial because of the role the company played in the process of unifying Nigeria. Some call Sir Goldie the father of modern Nigeria. The various English marketing companies in Nigeria, which had, hitherto, competed among themselves, heeded the advice of Goldie on the advantage of teaming together to form a cartel.[23]
The United African Company, thus, founded under the directorship of Sir Goldie became the incorporation of the "West African Company", the "Central African Company", "Miller Brothers" , and "James Pinnock".
With the strength of the new company it became a great trading block which was able to displace the other competing companies of other nationalities. The United African Company which, in 1882, became incorporated and took the name National African Company Limited, asked the British government for a charter which would make the Niger areas a protectorate of Britain placing the administrative rights at the disposal of the company. The granting of the charter to the company would have likely given Taubman's company an unbearable advantage over her commercial competitors, the French companies.

---

23. J.E. Flint, Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, London, 1960. Flint portrayed the life and work of Sir Goldie as a businessman, a politician and an astude tactician.

The French companies which operated also in the Niger areas wanted to share in the advantage of the lucreative trade there. Sir George Goldie, however, wanted the charter in order to have the monopoly right of trade in the Niger area.
When this was refused him by his government, he offer the French companies the alternative of joining in his monopoly company. When the French rejected his offer, George Taubman had to use his financial strength and commercial wit to out-manoeuvre the French companies - the Compagnie Francaise de L'Afrique, Equatoriale and the Compagnie du Sénégal et de la Côte Occidentale D'Afrique.
By 1884, Sir George Goldie attained the monopoly of the Niger trade.
In the same year 1884, Sir George Goldie thwarted the plans of the Germans to secure control of the extreme northern parts of Nigeria. Had the German emissary, Herr Flegel, succeeded in securing treaties from the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Gwandu, most of the areas of the northern parts of Nigeria would have come under the protectorate of Germany. But Goldie's foresightedness led him to send Mr. Joseph Thompson, a member of his company, to extract treaties from the Sultan and the Emir on behalf of the British government, giving Britain the exclusive right of the area.
Had it not been for the astuteness of Sir George Goldie, the geographical areas which were later named as Nigeria might have been shared between the three European nations, France, Britain, and Germany. Probably too, Nigeria might have come out to be three different countries.
The many treaties which Sir George Goldie or his agents forced upon the various chiefs and Emirs, either within the Oil River areas or Niger districts, formed the bases of British claim at the Berlin Conference of 1885.

Britain, thus, proved that she was the sole political and commercial administrator of the areas of Nigeria.[24]

On the basis of the recognition acquired from the Berlin Conference, where the territorial claims of the European nations to spheres of interest in Africa were settled, the British government in the London Gazette of the 5th June 1885 declared the Niger districts of Nigeria a protectorate. This districts were said to include "the territories on the line of coast between the British protectorate of Lagos and the right or western bank of Rio del Rey" and the "territories on both banks of the Niger, from its confluence with the River Benue at Lokoja to the sea, as well as the territories on both banks of the River Benue, from the confluence up to and including Ibi".[25]

With this publication, Britain legitimized her claim to political and commercial administration of another substantial part of Nigeria. The government of Britain, however, did nothing to put into effect her administrative claims to the territories. Everything seemed to have been left to George Goldie Taubman and his National African Company.

The political administration of the Protectorate and areas was so left to the band of traders under Mr. Taubman, whose uppermost concern was the maximization of commercial advantages for his company, resisting any challenge of opposition with utmost brutality.

---

24. See also Crowder, op.cit., pp. 150-151.

25. London Gazette, 5th June 1885, in: Burns, op.cit., p. 145.

With no other alternative left to the British government, she had to grant Mr. Taubman's National African Company a royal charter on the 10th July 1886 which legalized the powers of the company to administer the areas she acquired by the terms of the treaties she concluded with the native chiefs. The charter was good enough to have included the points that: "The Company as such or its officers as such, shall not in any way interfere with the religion of any class or tribe of the people of its territories, or of any inhabitants thereof, except so far as many be necessary in the interest of humanity, and all forms of religous worships and religious ordinances may be exercised within the said territories, and no hinderance shall be offered there to except as aforesaid."
The charter went on to say that:"In the administration of Justice by the company to the peoples of its territories, or to any of its inhabitants thereof, careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class, or tribe, or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with respect to holding possession, transfer, and dispositon of lands and goods, and testate and untestate succession thereto, and the marriage, divorce and legitimacy and other rights of property and personal rights."[26]
By virtue of this charter granted to the National African Company, a quasi-organized administrative and commercial network which took advantage of the loopholes of the charter, was established.

---

26. Royal Charter of 10th July 1886, in: Burns, op.cit., p. 152. See also J. Flint, Nigeria: The Colonial Experience from 1880 to 1914, in: L.H. Gann and P. Duignam (eds.), Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Vol. 1. The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870-1914, Cambridge, 1969, p. 221.

3.6. Relation between the Delta Areas and the Chartered Company

The Oil River areas which became a protectorate in 1885, taking the name Oil River Protectorate in 1887, had as acting Consul Mr. H.H. Johnston, with his capital in Calabar.
A more elaborate political system was established in 1891 when Commissioner and Consul-General MacDonald, with Consuls under him, was appointed.
In 1893, the Order in Council extended the territories of the Protectorate and renamed it the Niger Coast Protectorate.
The inhabitants of the Niger Coast Protectorate were, as a result of the Goldie's assumed exclusive right of trade deprived of the right to free trade in the hinterland which came under the control of the National African Company.

Hitherto, the inhabitants of the Niger Coast Protectorate had acted as middlemen between the British merchants on the coast and the peoples of the hinterland. But with the new charter, they were treated rather as foreigners in the market they had established. The British government was not very contended with the brutality, ruthlessness and impunity with which George Goldie and his Royal Niger Company[27] violated the spirit and terms of the charter. The company used the armed constabulary and legal courts she established in quelling any opposition to her aims, be it from the aggrieved natives or from the French and Germans who, until 1898, continued to struggle

---

27. The National African company took this new name after obtaining the charter.

desperately to acquire parts of Nigeria.[28]

Sir George Goldie's slyness was also exhibited in the various methods he used in conserving for his company and Britain the areas which are today regarded as Nigeria.
The most spectacular of the struggle for spheres of influence between Britain and France was in 1894 in the case of the ownership of the areas of Bussa, North-west Nigeria, on the northern parts of the River Niger. While the French, Captain Decoeur frantically wanted to abtain a treaty from the Chief of Nikki for the contested area, Goldie out-manouevred him by allowing the British Captain Frederick Lugard to reach the chief just five days before Decoeur.[29]
This incidence and series of other territorial competitions cultimated in a political skimirsh between Britain and France. Lugard had to organize a military force, the West African Frontier Force, whose function was to defend the territories gradually acquired for Britain.
In June 1898 the British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain succeeded in achieving a favourable agreement with France in which the spheres of influence of each of the powers were mutually recognised.

---

28. Cf. John E. Flint, Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, London, 1960. See also Mary Kingsley, West African Studies, London, 1901, p. 304. See also Burns, op.cit., p. 153.

29. Cf. Mary Perham, Lugard: The Years of Adventure, Vol. 1, London, 1956.

3.7. Nigeria becomes British Protectorate

The task of governing the protectorates and the areas under the chartered company were not, in any way, easy.
The British had, now and again, to quell disturbances istigated by local chiefs or kings who saw their rights eroded by the advent of the British. In some cases, the attempts of the British administrative to halt some of the inhuman habits, like human sacrifice, domestic slavery, and banditry were met with military opposition by natives resulting in the lost of numerous lives and burning down of villages.
As a result of public opinion and a deeper assessment of the administrative and political situation in the protectorates, the British government decided on revoking the charter granted the Royal Niger Company.
The British government decided to take a more effective control of the administrative policy of the protectorates. Although the work done by George Goldie Taubman and the Royal Niger Company was appreciated, hence the benevolent compensation the company received, yet, the letter from the Foreign Office to the Secretary of the Treasury of 15th June 1899 did not overlook the odious aspects of the Royal Niger Company's activities in the areas under her command.[30]

---

30. Cf. Paper relating to the Surrender of the Charter of the Royal Niger Company, 1899, (c. 9372), in: Burns, pp. 162-163. See also John E. Flint, Sir George Goldie and the making of Nigeria, pp. 129 ff. Also see A.N. Cook, British Enterprise in Nigeria, 1943, pp. 61 ff.

The revocation of the company's charter was followed by the incorporation of some of the southern territories into the Niger Coast Protectorate. The incorporated areas became the "Protectorate of Southern Nigeria" and the Consul-General, Mr. R. Moor, was elevated to the post of High Commissioner. The northern parts of the company's territories became the "Protectorate of Northern Nigeria" with Frederick Lugard as the High Commissioner. Lagos was allowed to remain as a separate colony.

3.8. Finding a Name for the Conglomeration of the Ethnic Groups

The name "Nigeria" was choosen out of the many alternatives which were proposed for the designation of the vast territories. Other names proposed were "Central Sudan", "Niger Sudan", "Negretia", or "Goldesia".
But the name "Nigeria" proposed by the journalist, Flora Shaw, who later became the wife of Frederick Lugard, was found most acceptable. The conciseness of the name and because no other nation in Africa at that time had the name, were the criteria which allowed Nigeria to have the name.[31]
Under the new arrangement of 1900, there existed, for the first time, a system whereby the very many ethnic groups in Nigeria came, at least, under only three separate administrations, which ultimately owe their power to one government, - the British government.

---

31. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, "Who coined the name 'Nigeria' in: West Africa, Dec. 22, 1953. See also Dorothy Wellesley, Sir George Goldie - Founder of Nigeria, London, 1934, pp. 98-99.

Each of the three administrative set-ups was confronted with the challenge of consolidating the control of the areas. The colony of Lagos with its Governor had not much difficulty in establishing itself as much as the governments of the other two protectorates.
The contact of Lagos with the external world for many centuries had helped broaden the views and life-styles of her peoples. As colony under the jurisdiction of British Colonial Office, unlike the protectorates which were, until 1900, under the Foreign Office, Lagos enjoyed certain consessions as British citizens which were denied of the protectorates.

3.9. British Colonization of the Fulani Empire

In the new Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, Lord Lugard had the initial problems of having to administer to areas which had never been touched by the influence of previous British political administration. It should be recalled that most areas which came under the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria were the same areas which had been subjugated to the Fulani Islam empire after the jihad of Othman dan Fodio and his successors.
This meant that a higher level of resistance would be expected from the Sultan and his dependent Emirs.

Although the Royal Niger Company in 1894 obtained treaties from the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Gwandu who commanded all the emirates, it was only left to Frederick Lugard to reveal the implications of the treaties. The Emirs of Kontagora and Nupe who were accused of engaging in slave-trade and resistance to British rule were swiftly conquered in 1901 by Lugard's West African Frontier Force. Lugard declared war on the other emirates conquering one after the other with his better organized armed forces.

Bornu was also conquered. At last in April 1903, Lugard conquered Sokoto, the heart of the Sokoto empire. He made it clear to the Emirs that the absolute reign of the Fulanis had bee put to an end.[32]

He said: "The Fuani in old times and Dan Fodio conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes to depose kings and creat kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into the hand of the British. All these things which I have said the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and principal officers of state will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so.

The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident".[33]

Lugard's statements gave the impression that Britain was no longer just interested in conserving a commercial territory for itselves, but was becoming interested in owning that part of Nigeria as their predecessors the Fulanis did. His speech showed already the method he intended to use for the administration of the vast territories. That was the system of "indirect rule".

---

32. See J. Flint, Nigeria and Ghana, New Jersey, 1966.

33. Annual Report for Northern Nigeria, 1902, p. 105.

It is noteworthy to know that Lugard's speech in no way insisted that the society of the Northern Protectorate would be open to Christian evangelization as was the case in the treaty with King Akitoye of Lagos.
The status quo in the emirates was left rather undisturbed. Despite some rebellious uprisings which were always successfully put down, Lugard and his successors, Percy Girouard (1907-1908) and Hesketh Bell (1909-12),succeeded in operating a relatively efficient government making adequate use of the old Fulani Islamic administrative system.

3.10. The Southern Protectorate

Although most parts of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria had experienced British rule longer than their northern counterparts, consolidation of British administration in the area was equally not very easy. This was the case, especially, in those areas which, until then, were untouched neither by the direct influence of the Oil River Protectorate nor those of the Royal Company. Notable among the resistance groups wich opposed British rule were mainly the ethnic groups which had been shielded by the wild tropical forests. The Aro who had administered most of the Igbo areas with the use of their Aro oracle provided the most resisting force which opposed the full intervention of the British.
The administrative areas of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria which though, was smaller in size than the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, proved rather more difficult to administer. The strict hierarchical system based on Islamic feudalistic monarchism centred around the Sokoto Caliphate, which was effectively exploited and used favourably by Lugard and his successors, was lacking in most ethnic groups of the Southern Protectorate.

In order to attain such submission like in the Northern Protectorate the colonial administrations introduced an administrative system into the Southern Protectorate which often found the disfavour of the inhabitants, because of its very foreign nature.

In May 1906 the Colony of Lagos was incorporated into the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria by Walter Egerton, who was appointed Governor and High Commissioner of both areas in 1904 to effect the unification. This step left Nigeria then with only two political administrations, Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Soon, a broad line of communication was developed between both areas by the building of railway lines, bridges and telegraphic lines.

Gradually a sense of centralism started developing in the vast area which, until 1900, had been administered by three different organs: - Lagos by the Colonial Office, the Protectorates by the Foreign Office, and the Royal Niger Territories by the Company.

The long process of unification of Nigeria came into force on the 1st January.

Frederick Lugard was sent to Nigeria in 1902 as Governor-General with the expressed instruction to effect the amalgamation of both Protectorates. Nigeria, thus, became the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. It was divided, however, into three administrative bodies. The Colony of Lagos was headed by an Administrator while the Southern Province and the Northern Province were under Lieutenant - Governors respectively.

The Administrator and Lieutenant-Governors were all under Lord Lugard who was the Governor-General of Nigeria.
There began the long battle in the task of building a "nation" out of the many "nations". What mistakes were made during this process that warranted Alhaji Ahmadu Bello to label the amalgamation itself as a mistake?
Most probably the meaning, intention and aim of the amalgamation was dubious while the very act itself was appropriate.
This difference could be identified on analysing the administrative methods used in effecting the amalgamation.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF NIGERIA

4.1. Historical Analysis

An analysis of the frameworks which characterised the independent Nigerian political administration cannot be said to have been thoroughly undertaken if a structural analysis of the stratagem upon which they were built were left out in a scientific enquiry. This would mean having to examine the policies and the intrinsic, as well as, the extrinsic principles upon which the colonial governments operated. Such examination would, most likely, open up some intricate clues to a more factual assessment of the Nigeria's political history. While the period of the colonization of Nigeria as a "nation" dated back only to 1914 when the both major parts were amalgamated, we have been confronted with the fact of the continuity which stretched from the pre- 1914 era, when the North and the South were separate administrative entities, to the colonial period when a uniformed administrative strategy was proposed for the whole nation.
Officially, as we have seen, British administrative intervention into Nigeria dated back to 1861 when the territories of Lagos were annexed and made colony. The period from 1861 till 1914 did not withnessed in any way uniformed administrative system, either for all the annexed territories in the South, nor for those areas North of Nigeria.[1]

---

1. See Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 208.

While Lagos was administered as a colony for a long time, the South, except the Colony of Lagos, was administered as a protectorate which, as had been seen, had for years remained under the jurisdiction of British Foreign office. The North, until 1899, was administered by the Royal Niger Company.[2]

The first sign of a form of administrative uniformity was usherred into Nigerian politics only on 1st January 1900 when the administrations of all the territories were reorganized to come under the jurisdiction of the British Colonial Office.[3]

That seemed to put to an end the period of administrative vacillation which had, hitherto, characterized the governments of the Protectorates and Colony in Nigeria.

The administrative uniformity in 1900 did not, however, mean an administrative amalgamation or centralization. The stage of administrative centralization, in the real sense of it, was not even attained by the January 1914 proclamation of the amalgamation of the North and the South.[4]

Although the Lieutenant-Governors appointed in 1914 to each of the two regions were responsible to the central government of the Governor-General,[5] both regions had operated different administrative systems - even though the structural principles might have envisaged a uniformity.

---

2. Ibid., pp. 211-212.

3. Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 171-172. Also see Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 208.

4. See A.H.M. Kirk-Green, Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, A Documentary Record, p. 66.

This divergencies was partially exonerated when Lugard pointed out that it was "...due to the earlier history of each government and the circumstances which had moulded its developement under British rule, and in part to the characteristics of the people themselves.[6]

4.2. Native Administration in Nigeria

The situation, unfortunate, became problematic when the administrative principles of "Native Administration"[7] which Lugard found "to have worked with good results in the North" was misconstrued to be equally suitable for the South.
It was unfortunate that the earlier political and cultural history of the developement of the South which was not unknown to the colonial administration was presumptiously overlooked in decisig to extended the obnoxious aspects of the 'Native Administrative System' into the South.
Like the thirteen provinces of Northern Nigeria each of which was headed by a Resident, the nine created in the South were similarly under the control of Residents.
The Residents had the responsibilities of executing the policies of the Native Administration in their respective provinces.

---

6. F.D. Lugard, Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919, Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, December, 1919, Cmd. 468, 1920, in: A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, ibid., p. 66.

7. Ibid., p. 72. See also A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria, p. 46. The system of "Native Administration" as Lugard himself said was based on the "recognition of the authority of the Native Chiefs". ibid., p. 45. The administrative system used appointed personalities as chiefs, or strengthened the autocratic powers of native rulers using them in executing the policies of the colonial administration.

They controlled the public service, the provincial and native courts.

But the most controversial aspect of the administrative system was the indiscriminate placing of autocratic powers in the hand of appointed persons through whom the policies of the administration were forced down[8] on the people.

The so appointed persons were called warrant chiefs.

In carrying out such appointments and the subsequent delegation of powers, traditional ethnic and political history was waved aside. Controversial personalities were, sometimes, enthroned neglecting the traditional criteria.[9]

Sometimes, peoples of various traditional background were forced under the despotic rule of neighbouring traditional rulers. In very many cases the religious implication of the thrones and leaderships were oddfully neglected and desecrated. While these anomalies were met with some toleration in Northern Nigeria, the political developement in the South had allowed some form of participative direct administration since 1861[10] when British colonial administration was first set up in Lagos. This contributed in making the people of the South to receive Lugard's introduced system with a lot of misgivings.

---

8. See Lugard's Political Memoranda, in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, the Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria, London, 1965, pp. 68-89.

9. Hailey, op.cit., p. 452. See also A.E. Afigbo, The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1891-1929, London, 1972, pp. 37 ff.

10. See also Coleman, op.cit., p. 50. See Afigbo, pp. IX-XIII.

Not only did the traditional political culture of most ethnic groups of the South abhorred any form of despotism,[11] but the quasi-participative direct administration which existed in Lagos until 1913 had also succeeded in creating a democratic impression among the inhabitants. That was why the receptivity to the Native Administration system differed immensely in both parts of Nigeria.

4.3. British Administration of Northern Nigeria

The British colonial administrators were aware that the Islamic Fulani had used their religion in lay the foundations of a very strong socio-political administrative system to creat their hierarchically structured government. They were also aware that there were many other areas of Northern Nigeria which remained untouched by Islam before the introduction of British rule. This does not mean these areas wholely escaped the political and spiritual influence of Islam as propagated by the Fulani Islamic missionaries. It only mean that some of these areas succeeded in resisting the subjucating force of the Islamic jihad. But in an effort to consolidate his powers in the North, Lugard did not only use the Islamic emirates as his agents, but he also imposed their rules on those areas which were, hitherto, independent of the Islamic emirate system.

---

11. Coleman, op.cit., p. 51. See also Afigbo, pp. 1-36. Afigbo succeeded in analysing the indigenous political background of the ethnic groups of the South-eastern areas. He showed why they abhorred the attempt of Lugard to impose the indirect rule system on them. See also Isichei, A History of the Igbo People, pp. 119-139.

In order to avoid the moral evaluation of his activities in the North, Lugard kept out the Christian missionaries form the area with some flimsy reasons.
Even before the introduction of British rule, Christian missionary adventurers had made different incursion into the Muslim areas in their bid to establish missionary stations and eventually schools.

Christian missionaries who worked in the South had always seen their relationship with the British administrator as that of partnership in the aim of creating a unified Nigeria.
In the administrative set-up in the South, the partnership role of the Christian missionaries was uncontested. In the North, however, some administrative technicalities made the effectiveness of such role nearly impossible.
Lugard in his speech at Sokoto in 1903 confirmed the political powers of the Sultan, the Emirs, and native rulers and made them subject only to the appointing grace of the High Commissioner. He said, "The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner,...."[12]
This promise was the fundament of British administration of Northern Nigeria, whereby, the indirect-rule system,[13] with the use of co-operative Islamic Emirs as the agents, was confirmed.

---

12. Northern Nigeria Annual Report, 1902, No. 409.

13. See Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, 5th Ed., London, 1965. C.L. Temple, Native Races in Their Rulers, London, 2nd Ed., 1968.

4.3.1. Indirect-Rule System[14]

C.L. Temple defined this system of administration as that "which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the natives themselves: which recognizes the existence of Emirs, Chiefs and Native Court of Justice, Muhammadan (Islamic) Courts, Pagan (Customary) Courts, Native Police controlled by native executive, ...by which European influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly through his chiefs,... "[15]

As Lugard himself pointed out,"the cardinal principle upon which the administration of Northern Nigeria was based was what has been commonly called "Indirect-Rule", viz, rule through Native Chiefs, who are regarded as intergral part of the machinery of government, with well defined powers and functions recognized by government and by law, and not dependent on the caprice of an executive officer".[16]

These confusing and mean arguments were posited to justify indirect-rule. Perham even defined it "as a system by which the tutelary power recognizes existing African societies...."[17] While Morel deceitfully termed it a system "...of training the natives to govern themselves...."[18]

---

14. Margery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, Oxford 1937. See also Lord Malcolm Hailey, African Survey, London, 1956.

15. C.L. Temple, p. 30.

16. Lugard, Political Memoranda, 1918.

17. Margery Perham, op.cit., p. 246.

18. E.D. Morel, Nigeria, Its Peoples and Its Problems, London, 1968, p. 145.

Some even said it was a system which served as "a preparatory stage to self-government".[19]
But the definition of the system should also be made to include the other 'raison d'être' of the system which was stated by Lugard.
That is, "...the political staff available for the administration of so vast a country, inhabited by many millions, must always be inadequate for complete British administration in the proper sense of the word, and that is was, therefore, imperative to utilize and improve the existing machinery".[20]
Lugard stressed this point further when he reinterated that "...if we had unlimited money so that we had no need to raise taxes and could flood the Country with European officials no doubt we could do much in a short time, but as it is we have not got the money and we have also to train the officials and they have got to learn everything connected with the native customs and languages before our rule can be efficient so far as it goes".[21]
Lugard, therefore, justified his choice of indirect-rule by adding that it was utmost necessary to adopt this system in view of the fact of the limited knowledge of the British of the local conditions of the people.

---

19. Lord Hailey, An African Survey; A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara, London, 1957, p. 201.

20. Lugard, Political Memoranda, 1918, in: A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria, London, 1965, p. 70.

21. C.M.S. G3/A9/O1, 'Lugard's Memo. on Dr. Miller's paper, 9. August, 1903', quoted in: Ayandele, op.cit., p. 145.

This would make it folly to introduce drastic reforms which would rather dislocate the traditional administrative structure. The next best alternative Lugard claimed was left to him was the native rulers whom he used as connecting pipes between the people and the British administration.

The fact that the Sultan, the Emirs and most of the natural rulers in the Northern areas were Islamic religious leaders, and the British administration conferred on them the powers to maintain laws, to assess and collect taxes, and to maintain the social services, the old order in which the religious and the political powers were in the person of the Emirs remained intact. Thereby, the religious leaders remained also the political leaders and the laws of their religion could not be differentiated from the administrative and social law. So, Islam was, thus, fully protected because of its use to the process of colonialism. This was presumed to be in keeping with Lugard's promise not to interfer with Muslim religion.[22] But an analysis of indirect-rule in Northern Nigeria and its effect on the people would confirm the duplicity behind such a deceptive sympathy for religion and traditional political culture.

Various reasons that have been articulated for indirect-rule, in no way, suggest that Lugard and his successor were influenced by their sympathy for the African traditional societies as Perham misjudgingly pointed out.[23]

---

22. See Lugard, Annual Report of Northern Nigeria, 1902, p. 98.

23. Perham, op.cit., p. 346.

Neither could it be rightfully deemed to be conceived out of Lugard's love for the Islamic religion. Right from the 1857 the Christian missionaries had made consistent effort to make an effective impact on the people of the North, but their effort remained always frustrated by the British administrators who considered the Christian missionaries a threat to the very fabric of their political administration - the indirect-rule. Inspite of the optimism of people like E. W. Blyden who thought it would be easier to convert the Muslims of the North to Christianity,[24] history showed that the Emirs had, in the past, persistently made a non-interference of Islam by Christianity a condition for accepting European subjects.[25] The Emirs' attachment to the Islamic religion which guaranteed the continuous existence of their feudal administration could be understood.

In the same way, in order to guarantee the existence of the Islamic administration upon which the British colonial administration was built, Lugard and his successors dutifully and continuously warded off the missionary zeal of Bishop Herber Tugwell, Dr. Walter Miller and other members ot the Church Missionary Society who frantically wanted to be allowed to go deeper into the North to introduce Christianity and education.

Ayandele's [26] constructive analysis of the hindering tactics used by Lugard to keep out the Christian missionaries from the North seemed to exonerate him and his successors from the accusation laid on them by the missionaries.

---

24. E.W. Blyden, The African Problem and other Discourses, London, 1890, pp. 102-103.

25. See J.E. Flint, Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, pp. 178 ff.

26. E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, pp. 128-133.

Ayandele's argument was based on the fact that Lugard promised the Emirs that he would not interfer with the Islamic religion but never promised prohibiting the Christian missionaries from evangelizing the North. Ayandele maintained that Lugard only requested that the missionary movements into the North should go 'pari passu' with that of his administration.[27]
For whatever reason, the fact remains that the efforts of the missionaries to build Churches,schools, and social services in the North were restricted. But was this restriction perceived to preserve Islam? Or was it carefully designed to isolate the people of the North from any sort of education which would endanger the British colonial powers?
Following logically the arguments of Lugard and his successors, especially that of C.L. Temple, one would immediately notice that they have formed a formidable concept of their administration. This concept, Lugard feared, would only be distrupted when the moral support and political trust from the Emirs was interfered with. Lugard said " it was unwise and unjust to force missions upon the Mohamedan (Muslim) population for it must be remembered that without the moral support of the government these missions would not be tolerated. And if they were established by the order of the government the people have some cause to disbelieve the emphatic pledges have given that their religion shall in no way be interfered with".[28]

---

27. Ayandele, ibid., p. 129.

28. Lugard, Political Memoranda, 1918, p. 124.

But C.L. Temple rightly pointed out the real reasons behind the fears of the Emirs which was inspired into them by the colonial administrators when he said, "It was probably, I would even say certainly, (on the) grounds of political expediency rather than fears for their religion which caused the Muslim Emirs to refuse permission for the establishment of mission stations... The Emirs did not feel themselves to be in such a strong position,... or their powers over their people so fully established that afford to run any risks by permitting the entry of factors of possible discord".[29]
Christianity was, as such, seen as one of the factors of discord which would not only disrupt the Islamic based feudal administrative net-work, but would also expose the atrocities of the British administrators to the civilized world.

Walter Miller criticized the indirect-rule system that was adopted in the Northern region. He was rather of the opinion that the territories must be ruled "directly" by British officials. He based his argument on the theses that "the main masses of the people expected a complete deliverance on arrival of the British government. Instead of the expected deliverance by restoring powers to the old Habe dynasty supplanted by the Fulani, the British administration rather retained and reinforced the powers of the Fulani".[30]
The zealous Christian Miller considered it an injustice on the part of Lugard and the colonial administration to reinforce the powers of the Fulani Emirs instead of helping to deliver the Hausa from the joke of the despotic authorities of the Fulani Emirs.

---

29. C.L. Temple, Native Race and their Rulers, pp. 214-215.

30. Walter R. Miller, "Northern Nigeria: Two Outlooks", Church Missionary Review, July, 1909, p. 394, quoted in:: Ayandele, op.cit., p. 144.

All the arguments tendered by Lugard and Temple tended to support the notion that the British administrators were not intrinsically concerned with the preservation of the Islamic religion, traditional culture and history, or the powers of the Emirs.

Preserving them was only a machivellian method of sanctifying the indirect-rule system and maintaining British rule in Nigeria. Coleman rightly obsereved that "Christianity and mission schools were not excluded simply because their presence would indirectly violate a promise or would offend the religious sensibilities of the Muslim population. Another reason was Lugard's belief that Christian ideas and Western education would militate against the successful developement of his system of indirect-rule".[31]

In order to preserve his government, Lugard chose to isolate the peoples of the North as long as possible so that the people would not in any way learn that Lugard and his men were also mortals whose power could be challenged.

The prohibition of Christianity in the North was, thus, necessary in order to achieve a complete isolation. Lugard and his successors, maybe, rightly guessed that the preaching of the equality of all men by the Christians, would endanger not only the position of the despotic Emirs, but would correspondingly disrupt the indirect-rule system.

It was then necessary to keep out the Christian missionaries in order to maintain class distinction, and, maybe, respect for the superiority of the British colonial officers.[32]

---

31. Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, pp. 136-137.

32. See C.W. Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911, p. 263.

Unfortunately the intended aims of Lugard's protectionism were carefully shrouded from the people most affected. Instead ethnic and religious chauvinism were excited in the peoples in order to creat and enflame the notion of Britain and Lugard as protectors of Islam and the Northerners.

4.3.2. Effects of Indirect-Rule in Northern Nigeria

It may appear likely correct to say, "indirect-rule was a preparatory stage of self-government", as Lord Hailey put it.[33] But the later effects of such a system showed that it did not do so much to prepare the native to govern themselves. The people were already governing themselves within their traditional political context before they learnt from the British administration rather to be dependent on the benevolence of the government.
The colonial system of indirect-rule as practised by Lugard and his successors only helped in appropriating and misusing the powers of the old traditional rulers. This fact is confirmed by the Sarduana of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello when he labelled self-government as "the restoration of the pre- 1900 era, modernized, polished, democratized, refined but not out of recognition, reconstructed, but still within the same framework and on the same foundations, comprehensive by all and appreciated by all. The train, the car, the lorry, the aeroplane, the telephone, the dispensary, the school, the college, the fertiliser, the hypodermic syrings have transformed Othman dan Fodio's world but the basis is still there".[34]

---

33. Lord Hailey, op.cit., p. 201.

34. Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, My Life, Cambridge, 1962, p. 19.

The Sardauna of Sokoto who, until 1966,was the leader of the ruling party in Northern Nigeria did not see the indirect-rule as a transistory system. The implication of his statements showed that indirect-rule had only succeeded in affecting some infrastructural changes in the social life of the people but leaving unchanged the feudal administrative system of the Fulani Sultan and Emirs. In which case, the introduction of the notion of self-government for him would only lead to the pre- 1900 era.

Colonial administration could be seen to have left the impression that colonialism was indispensable to the people. What good effect then resulted from Lugard's indirect-rule other than increasing dependency?

As Bello himself enumerated, the indirect-rule system saw to the erection of social amenities, hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and means of communication and transportation.[35]

It helps also preserved the old social and political 'status quo' whereby Othman dan Fodio and his successors were able to replenish their gains and expound on them.

But the indirect-rule system failed woefully in preparing the people either intellectually, politically, or socially to take over effective leadership of themselves on the principles of democratic self-government. The indirect-rule system having carefully shielded the region away from the social and political influence from outside, dampened the sense of initiative of most of the inhabitants to meet up with the challenges of their environment.

Hassan Usman Katsina, the military Governor of the Northern region strukt at this point by announcing to his people saying: "in the past we have tended to wait for everything to be done for us.

---

35. Bello, My Life, p. 19.

This attitude of idleness and fatalism has, let us face the fact, made our people backwards and weak".[36]

If indirect-rule had been conceived to be a temporary method in preparation for self-government, the unpreparedness of the British administrators to co-opt the helping hands of the educated natives stood out to negate the existence of such intention. Rather, uneducated natives were preferred in order to ward off administrative knowledge which would have constituted challenges.

Worse was the divisive role which the colonial administrators allowed indirect-rule to play during the integrative stage of Nigeria's growth to nationhood. Will it be right then to say that the amalgamation had ulterior motives?

Coleman pressed the view that "there can be little doubt that it (indirect-rule) had complicated the task of welding diverse elements into a Nigerian Nation... British policy undoubtedly encouraged or reinforced a natural parochialism,..."[37]

The results of such encouraged parochialism were the riots which later took a more developed religious and ethnic conscious tone. In the process of trying to strengthen their positions of authority in the Nigerian administrative system the colonial administrators used the indirect-rule system in stultifying the chances of a solid political integration between the various ethnic groups.

---

36. Hassan Usman Katsina, Ministry of Information Handout, Kaduna, June 1, 1966, quoted in: Walter Schwarz, Nigeria, London, 1968, p. 232.

37. Coleman, Nigeria -Background to Nationalism, p. 53. (Words in brackets are mine)

Emerson said that "any colonial system which builds on ethnic diversity as one of its fundamental elements is sure to impede the process of national integration".[38]
When Lugard proclaimed amalgamation in 1914, if he had expected an integrated "nation", Nigeria, the method of indirect-rule used in administering Northern Nigeria and later the South too can be said, following the logic of the intention and its results, was very short-sighted tending to be overshaddowed by his personal aggrandizement and , undoubtedly, that of his country Britain too.[39]
It was the injustice done to the North by shielding her off the educational, political and social reality of the world that led Ahmadu Bello to voice out his dissatisfaction.
He complained that the North "have always been neglected and backwards. People never realized there was money to spend in the North until the Legislative Council of 1947, there were then five schools in the whole of the North".[40]
The Sardauna's complaint could also be substantiated by the finding of R. Buell who wrote even before the Sardauna raised the issue. Buell showed the great difference in the percentage of children of school age in schools in the North and in the South. By 1924, while 6,88 percent of the children of school age in the South were in schools, only 0.224 percent of such children were in schools in the North.[41]

---

38. Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation: The Rise of Self-Assertion in Asian and African Peoples, Cambridge, 1960, p. 121.

39. Cf. F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, op.cit., p. 33.

40. Ahmadu Bello, The Sardauna of Sokoto, in an interview with Walter Schwarz, in: Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 239.

41. R. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, New York, 1928.

Such incongruency extended into many other areas of developement. This discrepancy was the outcome of the indirect-rule system, which, as such, cannot be said to have primarily the interest of natives in mind, nor that of the Islamic religion. The likely interest of the colonial administration can be deciphered from some of the pronouncements of the administrators, especially that of Lugard when he asserted that: "European brains, capital and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa, from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and the native races in their progress to a higher plane,..."[42]

Unfortunately, the system which was choosen by Lugard to maximize the gains of this industrial class had only a minimal interest in the future and fate of the natives. This minimal interest was to be tolerated in so far as it was geared at the maximization of the major interest which was the maintainance of the imperialist's industrial economy. The indirect-rule system was, thus, viciously implanted into Nigeria, using religion and ethnic sentiments as its antagonistic live principles.

Through the use of the system the colonial administration was able to strengthen her grips on the nation. But the evil effect of this administrative style continued to bewitch every effort to cultivate a clean politics in Nigeria.[43]

---

42. Frederick Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, London, 1965, p. 617.

43. Cf. F.A.O. Schwarz, op.cit., pp. 33-35.

4.4. British Administration of Southern Nigeria

Although the indirect-rule system announced by Lugard was intended to hold also for the Southern areas of Nigeria, those apparatus which made such a system "Workable" in the North was partially lacking in most of the Southern areas.
Even in those areas of the Yorubaland which had a rather centralized administrative system comparable with those in in the North, the socio-political history of their existence, which in turn influences their structural efficacy, differed very much with those of the Fulani emirates.[44]
Among other reasons for the difference of the impact of indirect-rule in Yorubaland was the fact that the Yoruba had for many centuries had contacts with the European trading world. Many of their citizens, even outside the relatives of the king, through their acquired wealth, found themselves in positions of importance in their villages and towns.

---

44. See Daryll Forde, The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria, International African Institute, London, 1951. R.L. Sklar and C.S. Whitaker (Jr.). The Federal Republic of Nigeria, in M.D. Carter (ed.), National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States, Ithaca, New York, 1966, Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism. S.J. Hogben and Anthony, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Tradition, London, 1966.
A. Burns, History of Nigeria. All these works portray the fundamental difference between the monarchical systems that existed in Nigeria. Some of them also discussed the fundamental features of the Yoruba monarchical system which made indirect-rule not very successful among the Yorubas as was the case in the North.

The wealth scored for such peoples great political powers which served as another check on the abuse of power by the Obas. Coleman pointed out this situation by saying: "Although fairly strong traditional authority were in power in that area, the king (Obas) were ultimately accountable to, if not the mouthpieces for, councils of hereditary titleholders and representatives of societies".[45]
The complicated nature of such traditional political system already gave rooms for some degree of democratic process in decision-making. This quality, wherever it existed in the history of a traditional political society in Nigeria, always posed difficulties to the naive presumptions of indirect-rule.

It must be admitted that, after the 15th century when the Portugese arrived in Benin,the economic, social, and cultural patterns and values of most peoples in the Southern areas had undergone tremendous changes.[46]
A new economic order which was geared toward exportation and importing was made to live side by side with the original subsistence economy. This started with slave-trade, followed then by the trade in palm oil and other raw materials in exchange for European manufactured goods.
As more people became involved in such trades, or were employed into government services, a new taste developed. People were no longer satisfied living only within their traditional environment, they travelled to areas where they perceived the standard of living to be better, or where paid employement opportunities existed.

---

45. Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, p. 51.

46. See Alan Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 211.

Traditional political and religious values binding the people were gradually 'demystified'.
The direct involvement of many of the natives in trade competition with the European merchants also helped in watering down the belief of the people that a 'White' was a supernatural being.
It will be recalled that Lugard's prime motive was always to maintain and enforce this impression of the superiority of the British on the mind of the people.[47]
A theory upon which indirect-rule in Nigeria found its bases of security. Between 1807, when slave-trade was abolished in Britain, and 1841, many of the ex-slaves found their way back into the West African coastal regions, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Many found their way into the Southern coastal areas of Nigeria. These ex-slaves brought with them, not only new ideas, but were also one of the first instruments of the Christian evangelization in Nigeria.[48]

The advent of Christianity and Western education helped developed some aspects of the political, economic and social cultures in a process of acculturation. It brought some form of enlightenment which helped to erase some of the superficial and superstitious values. But the most successful and instrumental of the missionaries' tools of enlightenment were the schools and the hospitals. With the first known school in Nigeria established in 1843 by the Methodist missionaries Mr. William de Graff and his wife who arrived in Badagry in 1842,[49] there followed a host of many other schools

---

47. Coleman, op.cit., p. 137. See also C.W.J. Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911, p. 263.

48. Cf. J.F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of an Educated Elite, London, 1965. See also Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, London, 1966.

49. Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, London,1974, pp. 79, 82.

established by the different missionary groups, voluntary agents and later the colonial governments. The natives were trained to manage the social services and the instruments of education themselves. They worked almost side by side with their European counterparts.

Judging from the statistical data showing the education growth in Nigeria before her independence in 1960, one would observe that the literacy campaign initiated by the Christian missionaries in the Southern areas yielded justifiable fruits. This fact would be most obvious when the number of schools and pupils in Southern Nigeria within the said period are compared with those in Northern Nigeria where the missionary effort to establish schools was delayed.[50]

---

50. Cf. F.A.O. Schwarz, op.cit., p. 34.

Educational Growth in Nigeria between 1906 and 1957[51]

Year	Eastern and Western Regions				Northern Region			
	Schools		Pupil		Schools		Pupil	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1906	126	1	11,872	20	1	0	unknown	0
1912	150	10	35,716	67	34	0	945	0
1926	3,828	18	138,249	518	125	0	5,210	0
1937	3,533	26	218,610	4,285	539	1	2,269	65
1947	4,984	43	538,391	9,657	1,110	3	7,962	251
1957	13,473	176	2,343,317	28,208	2,080	18	185,484	3,643

51. Source: Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, p. 134. See also, Annual Abstract of Statistic 1964, Lagos, The education meant here is the 'western education' which excluded 'Koranic and traditional education'.

It was the products of such educational establishments who helped in awakening the political consciousness of their peoples to resist Lugard's effort to impose the strictly centralized rule through appointed chiefs and Obas.
The centralized monarchy would have become for the colonial administrators the bases of institutionalizing the indirect-rule system in Southern Nigeria.
But unfortunately such autocratic administration operated by British appointed chiefs was repugnant not only to the traditional political structures of most ethnic groups of Southern Nigeria,[52] but also to the standard of social, political, religious and economic developement in the South at the time.
This was why the indiscriminate appointment of peoples to, hitherto, traditional positions of leadership by the colonial administration did not always go unchallenged.
Even when the so appointed Obas or warrant chiefs were backed by the powers of the colonial authority, their rights of leadership were, in many cases, not traditionally recognized. Such situations were most pronounced in the South-eastern areas where the socio-political attitude to leadership found the system of indirect-rule to be very incompactible with their culture.

Physical resistance was put up in some areas to reject indrect-rule. It cost the colonial administration much energy and time to displace the Aro who had,hitherto,constituted a political force among the Igbo using the Aro Chukwu Oracle as their political - religious instrument.[53]

---

52. Cf. Malcolm Hailey, An African Survey, A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara, pp. 453-461.

53. Cf. Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 210.

"Native Administration" was eventually forcefully established in the Igbo areas, and the "warrant chiefs" had to collect taxes from the people as part of their duties. This, of course, earned for the colonial authorities and their agents, the "warrant chiefs", the condemnation of the people.

The dissatisfaction with the indirect-rule system and the "warrant chiefs" cultimated in the Aba women's riot of 1929 when uneducated women found no alternative but to fight openly against the new system.[54]

Roiting against the systems of indirect-rule and discontentment towards the "warrant chiefs" and the imposed Obas had earlier taken place among the Yorubas of Oyo in 1916 and in 1918 by the Egbas.[55]

But it was the up-rise of the women of Aba which quickly spread to Calabar and Opobo which attracted much attention. It led to the setting up of Commissions of Enquiry to investigate into the cause of such riots.[56] Like the commission of enquiry which investigated the Egba riot of 1918, the two commissions that enquired into the riots in the Eastern region also laid the blame on the indirect-rule system whose policies did not take into account the traditional political institutions of the natives and their cultural norms.[57]

---

54. Margery Perham, op.cit., pp. 206-220. See also A.E. Afigbo, The Warrant Chiefs, pp.37 ff.

55. Perham, op.cit., pp. 444-447. See also Ajayi K. Ajisafe, History of Abeokuta, Suffolk, 1924, pp. 198 ff. Burns, op.cit., pp. 227-229.

56. See Report of a Commission of Enquiry appointed to inquire into certain incidents at Opobo, Abak and Utu-Etim-Ekpo in Dec. 1929, and Report of a Commission of Enquiry appointed to inquire into the Disturbances in the Calabar and Owerri Province, Dec. 1929, Sessional Paper No. 12 and 28 of 1930, Lagos, 1930. See also Coleman, op.cit., pp. 174-175.

57. Coleman, ibid., p. 174.

4.5. The Falsifying Character of Indirect-rule System in in the North and the South

The revolts against the indirect-rule system of the colonial administration was not, however, a monopoly of the Southern region alone. Similar riots also took place among some ethnic groups of the Northern region.
Most areas where such riots took place in the North were, in most cases, places which were then still unaffected by the centralism of the emirate rule. When such peoples, as a part of the indirect-rule system, were subjected to the governorship of the Emirs,[58] they had no alternative other than to revolt against the despotism. This was because accepting the authority of the Emirs over them meant as well imposing the Islamic laws and ways of life of the non-Muslims.
This never meant that the Emirs were very satisfied with their position as tutelage of the British colonial administrators.

It is logical, of course,to expect the least resistance from the class of people upon which such indirect autocratic powers were conferred, or from those who benefited from such a system. Yet, the relative calm among the Emirs could be attributed to the fears instilled into them which depicted the people from the South as enermies of the Islamic religion. The British colonial administration, at the same time, portrayed themselves before the Emirs as the organ established to protect the Islamic religion from Christianity and the Southerners depicted as agressors.

---

58. See Alan Burns, op.cit., pp. 190-194.

This was why the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello considered the British as "instrument of destiny (who) were fulfilling the will of God".[59]

It could be assumed that colonial administrators purposely gave indirect-rule a false religious implication in order to guarantee the safety of the system.

To avoid any defection from the pseudo-religiôus patronage, the natives of the North were, as had been seen, isolated from having much social and political contact with their Southern brothers. Hence, the Southerners who found themselves by virtue of their jobs or commerce in the Northern region were only allowed to live in quarters erected outside those places inhabited by the Northerners.[60]

The area in which the "isolative principle" yielded its worst fruit was in the area of education.

Unlike in the South where there were already a considerable number of primary and secondary schools[61] by 1947, the North was held back in her educational growth by the colonial administration who refused to encourage education actively as it was done in the South.

Ahmadu Bello bitterly regreted and denounced this depriviation when he complained that until 1947 there were only very few secondary schools in the whole of the North, the number which he successfully increased immediately he was at last allowed into direct powers.[62]

---

59. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. 19.

60. These quarter where the non-inhabitants live were in most towns of the Northern region called 'Sabon Gari'. This literarily means 'New town'. See also F.A.O Schwarz, op. cit., p. 35.

61. See statistic of educational growth in Nigeria between 1906-1947, in page 217.

62. See Walter Schwarz, p. 239.

Even those schools which were allowed to exist were so structured to ensure minimal social contact with the inhabitants of the South.[63]

On the other hand, the fanaticism with which Bishop Tugwell, Dr. Miller and other Protestant and Catholic missionaries from the South exhibited their zeal to build missionary schools and stations in the North helped create for the British administrators an adequate reason to present the Christian missionaries from the South as enermies of Islam.

Assessing the real reason why the Christian missionaries did not find favour with the colonial administrators, Professor Dudley pointed out that "the Christian missions had brought with them "modern western" education which the colonial administration believed had given the people (Southern region) "dangerous" ideas which might lead them to demand the vote, the right of equal employment opportunities with the colonial administrators and the right to be self-governing. The political isolation of the Northern Provinces was therefore an attempt to prevent the North from being infected with similar "ideas".[64]

The colonial administration succeeded in securing the continuous loyalty of most Northerners using such obnoxious and divisive strategy of pretending the protect Islam and the Northerners from the aggressive Christian Southerners.

---

63. Cf. F.A.O. Schwarz, op.cit., pp. 34-35.

64. Billy Dudley, An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics, London, 1982, p. 43.

They calously but unfortunated achieved this aim by creating into the minds of the peoples of both areas, the sense of suspicion, fear, intolerance for one another, envy, and an unhealthy competition. The worst of such reciprocal suspicion, however, remained that of political and religious domination. Traces of such fears and suspicion would be found to have dominated the administrative relationship of both major areas. An analysis of Nigerian constitutional history would portray more of such religious and political distrust.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM ON CONSTITUTIONAL GROWTH AND THE UNDERLYING ROLE OF RELIGION: 1914-1946

In the analyisis of the history of Nigeria's various constitutions in relation to the role of religion in politics, it is necessary to mention the contributions made by the various resistance and nationalists' movements which helped enhance the chances of Nigerians to participate in the government of their nation and helped Nigeria to achieve her independence.

On the other hand, the root of nationalism in Nigeria could be logically seen to be based on the courage of the educated native elites who benefitted from the missionary education.[1] This does not mean that there were no resistance movements before the introduction of Christianity or Islam into Nigeria. On the contrary, the uneducated natives of the various parts of Nigeria, as we have seen, were the first groups to resist colonialism or the forceful occupation of their territories by the colonial government.

---

1. See Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, 1971. Michael Crowther, The Story of Nigeria, Lodonn, 1962, pp. 207-236. Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, 1960. These authors agreed to the important role played by the nationalists in enhancing the constitutional development in Nigeria See also E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914.

The later forms of the resistant movements distinguished themselves from the earlier ones, not only because of the relative education of the members, but also in the aims they strove at.[2]

Both movements aimed at warding off colonialism, but the later resistance movements having seen colonialism as an unavoidable, though, unwelcomed pragmatic reality, strove to resist the various forms of the dehumanizing policies which the colonial government introduced to debase the culture and persons of the natives. The most outstanding of the aims of the nationalists[3] included the attainment of equality of rights for the natives in their relationship with their European counterparts.[4] After the colonial government had tactically curbed every chances of resistance among the natives by imposing on them stooges, the chiefs, the Obas and the Emirs, as their traditional rulers, the only outlet for the peoples political aspiration was, through the educated natives closely supported by other African counterparts and some black-conscious American Negros. The educated natives took it upon themselves to speak on behalf of their colonized people.

---

2. K.O. Dike, 100 Years of British Rule in Nigeria, 1851-1951, Lagos, 1957, p. 43. Dike distinguished between the aims of the resistance movements after 1914, which was at first "seeking to participate in the ...government" before the struggle turned to become that of fighting for self-government. See also the distinctions of Coleman, in: Coleman, op.cit., pp. 164-182.

3. The "Nationalists" in the case of Nigeria, remains a designation for the various groups of Nigerians or Africans who identified themselves with aspiration of fighting for the eradication of colonialism which would lead to the self-government of their people.

4. K.O. Dike, op.cit., p. 43.

5.1. Implication of Christian Missionary Activities on Nationalism

Before and after 1914 and until about 1947 such educated ones, were in most cases, the products of western missionary education.[5]

Since most of those missionary educational institutions existed in the Southern areas, it was natural to expect the initial areas of operation of the eduacated nationalists to be centred around Lagos and the South.[6]

It was the initial struggle for equality of right demanded by the educated Nigerians in the South that helped strengthened the colonial administration's policy not to allow the establishment of missionary educational institutions in most parts of the North. The western education brought in by the missionaries was said to have taught the natives that all men were created equal and such teaching was considered very dangerous to colonialism.

---

5. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, 1962, p.85. It was shown that even the founder of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), a political-cultural organisation of the Northerners dominated by Muslims, owed its foundation to D. A.E.B. Dikko who was a product of Christian missionary education. Dikko was trained by the CMS, Dr. Walter Miller, to become a medical doctor.

6. It would be remembered that British colonial administration discouraged the erection of schools in the North by the missionaries. They even discouraged the teaching of English in Northern schools, not because they loved the Hausa language or because they wanted to help the people to maintain their language, but because they feared the understanding of English by the natives might bring disrespect to the "almighty" British colonial officers working in the North. It was, probably, presumed that it was the English language learnt by the people of the South that gave them the affront to challenge the British official there. See Lugard, Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria, 1900-1911, p. 646.

A likely preference for the uneducated and hatred towards the educated ones was the result of the conflict.[7] Frederick Schwarz pointed out this attitude of the colonial administrators when he wrote that "for whatever reason the British disliked the educated African - whether they feared their eventual replacements, resented "airs", were racially prejudiced, or, themselves usually upperclass Englishmen, were saddened by the passing of the old dignity - that dislike clearly had some influence upon British policy".[8] While the dislike was overtly displayed within the colonial administrative structures, a rather different or milder position was taken by the European Christian missionaries. The European Christian missionaries did not only forester the education of the natives,[9] but they even encouraged ideas which give evangelization a native character.[10] It was the effort to "indigenize" the Churches that led some of the European missionaries into allowing the natives, including the educated, into positions of leadership in the Churches.

---

7. Coleman reported that: "...the characteristic attitude of resident Europeans toward the educated African was one of contempt amusement, condescension or veiled hostility ...." Coleman, op.cit., p. 145.

8. F.A.O. Schwarz, op.cit., p. 34.

9. Cf. Af. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, London, 1974. Fafunwa carefully traced the history of education in Nigeria without failing to point out that there had existed the traditional and Islamic form of education in Nigeria before the first western educational institution in Nigeria was erected by the missionaries.

10. The assertion that the European missionaries were interested in giving the Churches a native character cannot, however, hold for all the missionary groups. The Catholics and Protestants in some areas of Igboland where the religion and culture of the people were considered satanic can be mentioned as examples of missionaries who wanted to have everything look European. See Chukwuma, Possibilities of an African Christianity, Innsbruck, 1981.

Between 1842 and 1914,[11] it was noticed that the number of native Christians who attained positions of leadership in their various Churches gradually rose.
Such positions of leadership like being catechists, lay readers, churchwardens, pastors, priests and bishops involved an administrative relationship and co-operation with their European missionary counterparts. Passages in the bible which preached the equality of all men before God helped in giving extra impetus to such associations. After such relationship based on equality between the European missionaries and their native counterparts had been enjoyed in the arena of the Churches, it would not be surprinsing to learn that such equality was demanded also in the secular life, that is, in the colonial administrative set-up.[12]
The good intention of some of the British missionaries like Reverend Henry Venn, who was the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) from 1842 to 1872, must be taken into consideration when one has to examine the fundamental role which religion or rather Christianity played in setting foundation for nationalism.

---

11. 1842 was the year when the first set of Christian missionaries of the 19th century arrived in Nigeria. The Catholic missionaries were the first to arrive in Nigeria in 1472. Their missionary activity later died off to be followed by the 19th century missionary activity. The Methodist missionaries arrived in 1842, and the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) in 1842 too. 1914 was the year the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria were amalgamated.

12. See Diedrich Westermann, The African To-day, London, 1934, See also Coleman, p. 104. Both authors agreed to the fact that the indigenization which took place in the various Churches helped accelerated the movement of the Nigerians for self-government. See also J.F.A. Ajayi, 19th century, "Origin of Nationalism", J.H.S.N., Vol. 1, No. 4, Dec. 1959.

Henry Venn's appointment of the Nigerian-born Samuel Ajayi Crowther as a candidate for the bishopric in 1864 was unique. This marked an historical epogee in the process of the natives' desire to participate more actively in the management of the Church before and after 1914.[13]
The appointment of Crowther to the bishopric was in line with the policies of some of the missionaries who saw their role in Nigeria as that of helping to establish the foundation of Christianity. Some of them were very much conscious of the fact that the native Chritians must be taught to manage their own affairs.

The "indigenizing policy" introduced by some European missions differed very much from that of the British colonial administration who found such moves very detrimental to the colonial set-up. But fortunately or unfortunately once the spirit has been set off, it was hard to hold it back again.
The educated natives who became the product of such missionary spirit readily brought the emancipating ideas which came to characterize the history of evangelization before and after 1914. The educated native missionaries gradually but steadily built up a system of cultural and nationalistic ideas.
They no longer allowed the area of their demand for "indigenization" to be limited to the Churches alone. The Church and Christianity was to become the focal point and foundation of emancipative ideas and nationalism.

---

13. See Coleman, p. 103. Coleman pointed out that The first major effort to "Nigerianize" the clergy and promote self-governing Church bodies was made by the Church Missionary Society. See also Ayandele, op.cit., pp. 191 ff.

The native teachers, catechists, pastors and clerks, who helped in managing the affairs of their various Churches, saw no reason why such managemental status they attained in the Churches should not be conceded other Nigerians withing the colonial administration.
Ayandele maintained that: "Through administrative experience in the Church Nigerians were preparing themselves for self-rule in the state as well".[14] This assertion could be substantiated by the fact that those educated Christians who were the product of the mission schools and had administrative experience in the Churches were later to be the first set of Nigerians who occupied elective and non-elective positions in Nigerian Legislative Councils.

5.1.1. Schisms in Churches as an Instrument of Political Nationalism

The schisms which came to characterized the life of very many of the Protestant Churches in Lagos and the immediate surroundings before 1914 were parts of the nationalists' goal in search of a way of realizing their nationalistic aspiration. Protestant Churches like Native Baptist Church seceded from the American Baptist Church in April 1888 followed by the formation of the United Native African Church in 1891. Bethel African Church also seceded from the CMS in 1901. The architects of these various schisms would be said to have one thing in common, - the zeal to "indigenize" the Churches.[15]

---

14. Ayandele, p. 191.

15. See Geoffrey Parrinder, Religion in an African City, London, p. 107 ff.

While the religious implication of their activities may be important, one could not have doubted the fact that the rhetoric utterances of people like James Johnson, D.B. Vincent and Dr. Edward Blyden had a far reaching political implication.

James Johnson, for example, was not only a Church leader, but he also used his position to gain for himslef political credence. He saw Christianity as another useful tool for the emancipation of his people.

He relied on his position as Pastor and later as Assistant-Bishop to make himslef the rallying point for the religious, cultural and political nationalists. The events which surrounded the humiliation and deposing of Bishop Ajyay Crowther by the C.M.S. between 1889 and 1891 and the death of Crowther in mental anxiety, contributed greatly in inflaming the disagreement between the natives and the European missionaries. The inflamed situation also helped in enhancing the position of James Johnson as a religious and political leader of the nationalists. At this time, the events in the Churches were allowed to have their general implication of the relationship between the British, as a colonizing body, and the natives. At this time too, many of the educated Nigerians, it could be assumed, found their best consolation within the preambles of the institutions.

Closely supported by newspapers[16] owned by Nigerians or Africans, the conflict in the Churches were readily given a wide coverage.

---

16. Some educated christians found it very strategic for their political goal to establish newspapers which were used in publicizing the nationalistic ideas to the rapidly growing number of educated Nigerians. The first of such newspapers was the "Lagos Time", founded by R.B. Blaize in 1880. It was followed by the "Lagos Observer" owned by J.B. Benjamin which was established in 1882.

They emphasized the political implications in order to make them attractive to the native Christians and the non-Christians alike.

The different steps taken by the colonial administration before 1960 to incorporate the natives into the administrative leadership machinery cannot in any way be dissociated from the initial pressure exerted by the early educated Nigerian Christians on the European missionaries.

The series of conflicts which successfullly and progressively won for the native Christians their partial independence and places of leadership in missionary establishments were also gradually allowed to be the motivating force behind the demands of the educated Nigerians for right or representation in the administration of the Colony.[17]

This struggle and demand accounted for the two representative seats allotted to the Africans in the Legislative Council of the Colony of Lagos, which existed before 1914.

The partial successes in uplifting the political possitions or status of the natives before 1914 should be credited to Herbert Macaulay, the grandson of Bishop Crowther. Macaulay, with the support of some other educated native christians, successfully transferred the nationalistic aspirations of the natives, which had before this time found religion and the Churches as their platforms, from the merely religious-cultural emphasis, into clearly defined political goals.

---

17. See Kenneth Dike, 100 Years of British Rule in Nigeria, 1851-1951, Lagos, 1957.

People like Assistant-Bishop James Johnson and Dr. James B. Horton[18] should not be forgotten for the role they and their supporters played in building up the religious-political bridge which helped to inspire political zeal of the natives. From a religious background Johnson and Horton were able to prove to the naties why it was necessary that they should fight for their political rights.
It was the foundation laid by these early Christian nationalists that later formed the bases of the post- 1914 nationalistic movement in Nigeria.[19]

It is consequent to note that, before 1914, some of the main characters who dominated the nationalistic scenery in Nigeria were non-Nigerians of African origin who lived in Lagos.[20] These helped the educated Nigerian natives, who at that time found themselves mainly in Lagos, in developing their political and nationalistic ideas, be it in the Church's arena or in their confrontation with the policies of the colonial administrators. Another important aspect of the pre- and post-1914 nationalism which is worth noting was the central position which Lagos, the Capital of Nigeria, occupied as the meeting point of nationalistic aspirations.

---

18. Dr. James Beale Horton (1835-1883) had as father an Igbo ex-slave. He studied Medicine in England and later he worked as Surgeon in the British Army stationed in Ghana. Politics later became one of his favourite topics. See Isichei, op.cit., pp. 70-71.

19. See also Coleman, op.cit., pp. 175-172. Even when Coleman did not consider many of the pre- 1914 nationalists' movements as really nationalistic, he admitted of their contribution to the political aspirations of pre- 1914 educated Nigerians. He classed them as merely resistance or protest movements. Coleman, pp. 169-182.

20. Notable among such many non-Nigerians of African origin were also John Jackson who owned and edited the Lagos Weekly Records, and Dr. Edward Blyden, the author of "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race", London, 1887.

The relative environmentally and intellectually developed nature of Lagos in comparison with other reasons of Nigeria the said period must be admitted to have accounted for the peculiar role which Lagos played in constituting itself into the centre of Nigerian nationalism.

It is also pertinent to note the fact that most educated Nigerians at that period were found within or around the areas of Lagos which were educationally more developed by the missionary schools. The various missionaries saw the establishment of schools as a means of acquiring young converts.[21]

---

21. See A. Babs Fafunwa, p. 92. Fafunwa reported that the "missionaries without exception used the school as a means of conversion". This statement could also be interpreted to mean that the missionaries were more interested in gaining memberships than the education of the people. See also John P. Jordan, Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria, Dublin, 1949, pp. 97-98. Jordan quoted Bishop Shanahan's speech in which Shanahan pointed out that the reason for erecting schools was not just for the sake of giving the people education they needed in order to gain a better employment. Shanahan said: "The principal reason for a school is that the children of the town may know about God, and learn how to serve him". Jordan, pp. 97 ff.
Judging, however, from the empirical result of the missionaries' activities, one can and should rightly see the effort of the missionaries, not only from the selfish perspective of swelling their number, but one should also see their innate and expressed desire to uplift the intellectual and material standard of the people among whom they worked.

Since the majority of these missionary groups had their headquarters in Lagos, Lagos was gradually turned into a meaningful religious and political centre.
This was also why most of the constitutioanl developement had their origins in Lagos. In which case, though the constitutions were purely political matters, the influence of the religious groups on their developement would require a gradual and conscientious examination.

5.2. Constitutional Developement in the Process of Amalgamation

In considering the constitutional developement of Nigeria, distinction has to be made between the areas of Lagos and those areas outside Lagos. Before 1914 Lagos had been so politically developed by the many different and modern streams of thought emanating from the presence of many different interest groups.
The other areas far away from Lagos which were within the period still regarded as Protectorates were on the other hand, yet, unpenetrated by much of the wind of changes and civilization coming from the coastal regions by 1914.

5.2.1. The Pre- 1914 Councils

As early as March 1862, after Lagos was ceded to the British government by virtue of the treaty of Lagos in 1861, executive and legislative councis were established to administer the annexed territories.[22]

---

22. The Council was constituted by virtue of the Commission of March 1862 and the legislative powers defined within the realms of the Colonial Laws Validity, Act. 1865.

In 1866 Lagos became a part of the 'West African Settlement' which included Sierra Leone, Gambia and Gold Coast (now Ghana). These territories came under a Governor who resided in Sierra Leone while Lagos was administered to by an Administrator[23] who owed allegiance to the Governor.

In 1874 Lagos was made to form a colony with Gold Coast (Ghana) alone with the Governor and the Legislative Council having their headquarters in Gold Coast (Ghana), while a Lieutenant-Governor cared for Lagos. Lagos regained a separate colonial status in 1886 and by virtue of that, had her own Governor.

The period between 1872 and 1906 when the Colony of Lagos was amalgamated to the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria could be deemed very notable for the reconstruction of the history of the nationalistic develpement in Nigeria.

The period withnessed the first successes of the Christian educated natives when some them were nominated to the Legislative Council of the West African Colonies. Although that may not seem to mean much, but such historic moments encouraged and gave further impetus to the early educated Nigerians, supported by their Christian belief to struggle on to achieve their emancipation.[24] By the instrument of the amalgamation of the Colony of Lagos to the Southern Protectorate[25] the Legislative Council of Lagos no longer legislated only for Lagos, but also for the Southern Protectorate.

---

23. The Administrators of Lagos between 1866 and 1873 were:
1866 - Admiral C.G.E. Patey 1872 - Admiral G. Berkley
1866 - Admiral J.H. Glover 1873 - Captain. G.C. Strahan
See Sir Alan Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 330.

24. See E.A. Ayandele, Misionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, pp. 184-185, 188. James Johnson (althouth was later removed) and Captain J.P.L. Davis, were within that period nominated members of the Legislative Council.

25. Order in Council of 16th July 1906.

5.2.2. The Nigerian Council of 1914: Legislative or Ceremonial Assembly?

With the amalgamation of the South and North in 1914, the powers of Lagos Legislative Council was further reduced and limited only to the Lagos Colony.[26]
In place of the Legislative Council, or instead of a real Council to ligslate for thenewly created country, a quasi-advisory body was created which met about once a year to deliberate upon the affairs of the country. This deliberative body was named the 'Nigerian Council'.[27]
It, howeer, had no powers to enact laws or to form a check on the powers of the executive.[28]

Lord Lugard, in his amalgamation report, declared that the Legislative Council which had, hitherto, administered Lagos and the Southern Protectorate was "ill adapted to deal with the varying conditions of the interior tribes, and would be altogether inappropriate for dealing with the advanced Muslim communities of the North".[29]

---

26. Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council 1913, - and Extraordinary Gazette, No. 17 of 1st Jan. 1914.

27. Nigerian Council Order in Council of 22nd November 1913.

28. Art. 17 of the Order in Council read that "no resolution passed by the Council shall have any legislative or executive authority, and the Governor shall not be required to give effect to any such resolution...."

29. Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919, in: Kirk-Greene, Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, 1968, p. 78. Lugard's reason should be seen to be ill-conceived. By denying the whole country of a real legislative body, he surreptitiously wanted to avoid the influence of the nationalists from the South. It was a tactics intended at avoiding the emancipative ideas of Southern Nationalists from affecting the Northern parts of Nigeria where he had effectively subjugated the masses through his indirect-rule

Of the 36 members of the "Nigerian Council" only six of them were Nigerians. The six (three from the North, and three from the South) were among the 13 non-official members appointed by the Governor-General. The other 17 were official members who were also members of the "Executive Council".

The 1st Class Residents, the Political Secretary and the Secretary of the North and the South [30] were all members of the "Executive and Nigerian Council".

The Nigerians so appointed were considered in term of honouring them and their status in the society rather than expecting a deliberative contribution from them. The "Nigerian Council", of course, was nothing short of a mere "annual get-together". The first Nigerians to be appointed to the Council were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emir of Kano, the Alafin of Oyo, Chief Dore Nuwa of Warri and Benin Rivers, Chief Henshaw of Calabar, and Honorable C.A. Sapara-Williams.

The list of these Nigerian members appointed into the Council immediately shows that the Council was only an assembly in which the colonial administrators gathered their stooges together for "an annual brain-washing".

---

system which canonized the autocratic rule of the Emirs and disallowed discussive form of government.

30. Lugard, Amalgamation Report, in: Kirk-Greene, p. 79. As Lugard himself made it known, that the Council was more of an annual forum which afforded him as Governor-General the opportunity "...to give a summary of matters of interest during the past year, to review and forcast the position of trade and finance and to emphasize and explain any questions of policy and legislation of importance". ibid., p. 79.

As much as possible, the influence of the educated Christian natives from Lagos was avoided by allowing the Legislative Council of Lagos there to continue to legisate for Lagos alone. Unlike in the other parts of Nigeria which had the "Nigerian Council", laws affecting the Colony of Lagos were passed with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council. The Nigerian Council, on the other hand, could not pass any resolution or law which could have any form of legislative or executive force.[31]
This shows that there was no basis of comparing the status of the "Nigerian Council" with that of the "Legislative Council" of Lagos.

5.2.2.1. Criticisms of the Nigerian Council

The products of the mission schools and the educated African natives who lived in Lagos and in the coastal neighbourhood were the first to see and point out the fraudulent and surreptitious role which the "Nigerian Council" was destined to serve. Not only was it a debasement of legislative responsibility, it was also created as one of those antagonistic instruments which was to serve as a forum to exacerbate the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria. In which case, Lugard and the British colonial administration only used the assembly of the Council to portray themselves as the protectors of the 'interior tribes' from the "educated and Europeanized natives".[32]
Once the educated natives were done away with, it was most likely thought, the consolidation of the powers of the British who had the executive powers would remain unchallenged and unquestioned.

---

31. Nigerian Council Order in Council, 1913.

32. Lugard Amalgamation Report, p. 78.

Of course, the traditional rulers had to be appeased with "the honour of appointment"[33] into the ceremonial seats of the "Nigerian Council" in order to gain their contentment and silence.
The non-highly-educated and unsophisticated Nigerians who were ready to subordinate themselves, and would not question the basis of their relationship with the colonial administation were, as a result, preferred to the educated ones whom the British colonial administrators saw as threats to their political offices.[34]

Coleman revealed that " the antagonism of the white community and especially officialdom, toward educated Nigrians became more pronounced when it was realized not only that they were the source of political agitation, but also that they aspired to greater participation in government with the ultimate aim of displacing the white administration".[35]
The "Nigerian Council" was then a tactical devise , not only to deprieve the educated Nigerians of the opportunity of political participation in the administrative affairs of Nigeria, but also the Council was designed as an instrument by which destructive and obstructive antagonism between the educated Nigerians and the traditional rulers could be generated.
The highlight of this conspirative intention was exhibited when Governor Hugh Clifford condemned and castigated the educated Africans and their aspiration before the "Nigrian Council" on 29th December 1920.[36]

---

33. Ibid., p. 78.

34. See F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, op.cit., p. 34.

35. Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, p. 150.

36. The speach of the Governor vividly portrayed the intentions and goals of the British colonial administration. It also exposed the British intrinsic reason for the amalgamation of Nigeria.

The educated Nigerians had joined hands with their counterparts in Sierra Leone, Gambia and Gold Coast (Ghana) to form the 'National Congress of British West Africa' in 1920.

The Congress was dissatisfied with the philosohy and style of administration that was perpetrated by the British colonial powers which was epitomized in the existence of the "Nigerian Council'. The Congress aimed, among other political and social objectives, at finding a way to put to an end the dehumanizing aspect of colonialsim.

It had also the aim of demanding the legal right of Nigerians to participate in the direct political administration of their country which would, as a start, eventually lead to self-government and self-determination.[37]

To this end, the Congress sent a delegation led by a Ghananian lawyer, Casey Hayford, to the secretary of state for the Colonies in London in 1920 with a petition which demanded:[38]

1) The establishment of a Legislative Council for each of the territories. Half the members of such councils should be elected African while the other half nominated.

2) The setting-up of a house into which African members of the Legislative Council and other representatives would be elected to control taxation, revenue and expenditure.

---

37. See J. Wheare, the Nigerian Legislative Council, London, 1949, pp. 30-32.

38. Cf. Memorandum of the Case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a memorial based upon the resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, National Congress of British West Africa, London, 1920, See also Coleman, op.cit., pp. 191-192.

3) The abolition of any form of racial discrimination in the civil and judicial services, so that appointment should be made by reason of merit rather than colour. Thereby allowing the natives to occupy meaningful positions, either as judges too, or as higher administrative officers.

4) The establishment of a West African University.

5) The appointment and deposition of chiefs should be by their own people rather than by the colonial administrators.

The delegation of the 'National Congress of British West Africa' which included, among other Nigerians, Patriach J.G. Campell, (who was at the time the leader of a Christian denomination), was received with unwarranted prejudice by the London based British Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner. The biased Secretary of State gave no attention to the demands of the delegation, but met them with utter rejection.[39] The failure of the Congress' aims which was most probably caused by the British colonial administrators in Nigeria was promptly utilized by the Governor of Nigeria, Hugh Clifford, who despisefully classed the members of the Congress as "...a self-selected and self-appointed congregation of educated African gentlemen...drawn from half-dozen coastal towns - men born and bred in British-administered towns situated on the seashore, who, in the safety of British protection, have peace fully pursued their studies under British teachers, in British

---

39. See also E. Michael Joye/Kingsley Igweike, Introduction to the 1979. Nigerian Constitution, p. 19.

schools, in order to enable them become ministers of the Christian religion or learned in the Laws of England, whose eyes are fixed, not upon African native histroy of tradition or policy, nor upon their own tribal obligations and duties to their natural Rulers which immemorial custom should impose upon them but upon political theories evolved by Europeans to fit a wholly differnet set of circumstances,...."[40]

The antagonistic purpose of such condemnation was very apparent. Judging from the fact, as the Governor mentioned, that most members of the National Congress were educated products of Christian missionary institutions as against the uneducated traditional rulers of mixed relgious affiliation, - Islam and Traditional religion, whom Clifford was addressing in the 'Nigerian Council", he had the aim of antagonizing the Nigerian members of the Concil, who were mostly traditonal rulers, against the members of the Congress.

The antagonistic devise was directed in two levels, - political and religious. The first devise was to tactically insinuate the idea into the traditional rulers that they were the rightful leaders of their people and that the members of the Congress were rather trying to ursurp their position. The other nefacious aspect of the Governor's speech was this time direct or indirect aim of playing on the religious differences of the people. He classed the members of the National Congress as people educated "...in order to enable them become ministers of Christian religion".[41]

---

40. Address to the Nigerian Council by Governor H. Clifford, 29th Dec., 1920. Record of Proceedings of Council Lagos, 1920, p. 20. (Emphasis are mine)

41. Ibid., p. 20. It should be recalled tdhat the tactic of the British administrators in Nigeria posing themselves as protector of Islamic religion was their main instrument used in holding the Northern Emirs to the ransom of colonization.

He stressed the point before the traditional rulers who were Muslims and Traditional religious worshippers in order to excite religious sentiments, disunity and to depict the members of the Congress as a form of Christian religious crusaders.

Inspite of the despise with which the colonial administration treated the members of the "National Congress of British West Africa", the colonial administration could not for too long pretend to be unaffected by the popularity which the aims and objectives of the Congress was gaining.[42]

The impact of the growing number of people who indentified themselves with the aims of the Congress could no longer be underestimated. With the intensification of the activities of the Christian missionaries all over Nigeria, especially in terms of opening up schools in the remote villages of the North and the South, more Nigerians rapidly became increasingly conscious of their political situation.[43]

Governor Hugh Clifford was left no other alternative than to bow to the increased political pressure which demanded for changes. This culminated in the dissolution and abolition of the notorious "Nigerian Council" giving way to some constitutional reforms. Even the Governor himself was disillusioned with the Council since it could not effectively play the role for which it was destined, that was, to hold back the political

---

42. Coleman reported that internal disagreement and disillusionment from the failure of the Congress to achieve their objectives brought about its demise. Cf. Coleman, op.cit., p. 192. From a political pont of view, one could not correctly talk of the Congress' demise because their ideas and ideals lived on and grew stronger even after the failures. The members were known to have worked with Herbert Macaulay's political party, the NNDP which was the leading political party in Lagos until 1938. See Chap. 5.3. and 5.3.1. of this work.

43. See A. Babs Fafunwa, op.cit., pp. 118-119.

influence of the nationalists.[44]

5.3. Hugh Cliffords's Constitutional Reform of 1922

By virtue of the Order in Concil (Nigeria Legislative Council) of 1922, a new and relatively better assembly to replace the "Nigerian Council" was created. The new Council was also made to replace the thirty-six year old "Lagos Legislative Council (1886-1922)". The Council established was named the "Legislative Concil".[45]
One of the most significant aspect of the new Constitution under which the new Council was created was that it allowed the elective principle. The nationalists under the banner of the "National Congress of British West Africa" had demanded for it in their petition to the British Secretary of states for the colonies in 1920.[46]

---

44. See Arthur N. Cook, British Enterprise in Nigeria, New York, 1943, p. 247.

45. Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council, 1922, Art. 3 and 8. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1922, Royal Instruction of 1922 (for the Protectorate and for the Colony).

46. Coleman as well as Michael Crowder posited reasons why one could not effectively conclude that the reform undertaken by Clifford was as a result of the pressure from the "National Congress". The case of Ghana was cited where the elective principle was attained only later in 1925 whereas the activities of the 'National Congress' was even stronger in Ghana. Cf. Coleman, op.cit., p. 196. See also Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 209. All the same, it would be very necessary that the events which led to the reforms must be seen within the framework of the historical perspective of Nigerian nationalism. That would show the pressure which brought about the reform, more from the culmulative content of the pressure of the many political and religious groups, rather than just as a result of one of those sporadic nationalistic outburst of any particular group. Cf. E.M. Joye/K. Igweike, pp. 19-35.

Although all their demands were, then rejected, but the weight of the pressure of their members in Nigeria, at last, yielded political fruits.

The introduced elective principle, at least, gave the opportunity for four Nigerians to be elected into the forty-six member Council. The four elected Nigerians (three from Lagos and one from Calabar) were parts of the nineteen unofficial members of the Council.

The fifteen unofficial members were nominated by the Governor. The Governor, who was also represented in the Council with his other twenty-six official members (twenty-three ex-officio and three nominated), was the president of the Council.

With the enormous powers with which the person of the Governor was adorned[47] he was more of a dictator in the Council, rather than a constitutional Governor. He nominated the unofficial members of the Council at his pleasure, and by virtue of his power, could veto any bill from becoming law.[48]

The new Legislative Council was, as one may assess, only a superficial reincarnation of the dissolved "Nigerian Council" which it displaced. Even when Arthur Burns referred to it as a "more representative Body".[49]

It was, like the abolished "Nigerian Council", just another forum used by the Governor and his officials to announce their intentions rather than seeking approval for their intentions.

Yet, one cannot just dismiss the calculated impact of the more organized political pressure put up by the "National Congress". Even when it did not play the decisive role, its impact on Nigerian politics at that time could not just be overlooked.

47. Nigeria (Protectorate) Order in Council, 1922, Art. 4.

48. Royal Instructions (Protectorate), 1922, Art. 6.

49. Burns, op.cit., p. 215.

One could not have expected much wonder from a Legislative Council whose members, except the four elected Nigerians, owed their positions in the Council to the benevolent spirit of the Governor, either as members of the Executive Council, or as nominees of the Governor.[50]

In the Executive Council itself, no consideration was made for an African or Nigerian representation. That corresponded effectively with the intention of the colonial government later exposed by Margery Perham in which the colonial administration was shown to have considered it inadequate to allow the Nigerians into administrative positions.[51]

5.3.1. Victory for the Nationalists' Aspiration?

Even those who were allowed to contest or vote for the four elective seats of the Legislative Council were vigorously delimited by virtue of the franchise which limited the candidates to only adult British subjects, or British protected persons who must have resided in the particular area for twelve months. Such candidates were also supposed to have been in a position which earned them a gross annual income of £ 100 (hundred British pounds).[52]

---

50. Cf. Joan Wheare, The Nigerian Legislative Council, London, 1949, pp. 72 ff.

51. Cf. Margery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London, 1937, pp. 360-362. See also H.L. Bretton, Power and Stability in Nigeria - The Politics of Decolonization, New York, 1962, p. 12. Bretton rightly evaluated Clifford's constitutions, when he saw in the so-called reform only a tacit attempt designed so that "...no idigenous leader was permitted to become a member of the inner circles of manipulators of supreme political powers". Bretton, p. 12.

52. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1922.

Inspite of this devise which disfranchized thousands of the Nigerians who would have loved to exercised what would have been their political right, the result of the election conducted in September 1923 showed clearly the support the nationalists' aims enjoyed among the people.

The three seats of Lagos were won by candidates of the "Nigerian National Democratic Party" (NNDP).[53] The party which was founded and led by Herbert Macaulay, the grandson of Bishop Ajayi Crowther, was as a political organization a rallying point for nationalists' aspirations even before it was registered as a political party in 1922. The party which was an off-shot of a religio-political agitation group of the early 20th century, gradually and effectively developed into a party with a very coherent set of political objectives. It was supported by prominent nationalistic figures like Egerton Shyngle, D.C. Adeniji Jones, Eric Moore, Karimu Kotun, and Thomas H. Jackson. Working closely together with some members of the "National Congress of British West Africa", the party easily defeated their more moderate rival the "Peoples Union" formed in 1909 and led by Dr. John K. Randle. Orisadipe Obasa, Kitoyi Ajasa, Akinwande Savage and Adeyeme Alakija were some of the other prominent members of the "Peoples Union" which was not as nationalistic as Macaulay's NNDP.

---

53. Isaac Thomas, Life and History of Herbert Macaulay, 3rd ed., Lagos, 1948. The Book gives a more detailed account of the life of Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay (1864-1964) and his party the NNDP. See also Constitution of the Nigerian National Democratic Party showing their aims and objectives of which the struggle to achieve self-government for Nigeria remained one of the cardinal ofjective. Cf. Coleman, op.cit., pp. 196-200.

The fourth elective seat which was for Calabar was won by a political organisation called "Calabar Improvement League".[54]

5.3.2. Excluding the North from the Legislative Council

In line with Lugard's aspiration of upholding the notion of the superiority of the Europeans as against the natives Nigerians by discouraging any unnecessary communication or interaction between both groups on equal bases,[55] Clifford's Constitution overtly did away with any chance of allowing native representatives from the North to sit in the Legislative Council with the representatives from the South. Most probably, that was a careful measure to prevent the would-have-been Northern representatives from being influenced by the nationalistic spirit of the Southern nationalists. The argument that the candidates from the North would not be able to follow the proceeding of the Council in English language cannot hold since non-English speaking Chiefs and Emirs were even appointed, years back, into the defunct "Nigerian Council" without considering their ability to follow the Council's proceedings.[56]

Even when the language was accepted as a reasonable obstacle, the fault should be seen in the colonial administrator's zeal to deify themselves by not allowing the people the access to understand the English language.

---

54. Historical Records of hte Calabar Improvement League, Calabar.

55. C.W.J. Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911, p. 263.

56. See Kirk-Greene, op.cit., in: Lugard's Amalgamation Report, p. 79.

They felt that the understanding of the English language by the natives of the North would lead "...to utter disrespect for British and native ideals alike,..."[57]

By avoiding any effective chance where the peoples of the North and the South could meet together in a Legislative Council to speak in one voice, Clifford's constitutional reform of 1922 sanctified the "divide and rule" system which he inherited from Lugard. The instrument of authority by virtue of the reformed constitution gave the power to legislate for the North to the Governor. Even the Executive Council, of which the Lieutenant-Governor of the North and his officials were members, only played an advisory role in the Governor's duty as the sole legislator for the North. The Governor was answerable only to the British Colonial Secretary.[58] In that case, the Legislative Council was only authorized to legislate in respect of Northern Nigeria when such bill pertained to the financial expenditure for the area. Otherwise, the Governor was given the pregorative to legislate for the North by proclamation.[59]

Surely, such a constitution must, with time, be a victim of its deficiencies as was shown in the after-effects which led to its been amended periodically.

---

57. Lugard, Annual Report of Northern Nigeria, 1900-1911, p. 646. It was most probably thought that the understanding of the language of the "white man" by the Southerners was what gave them the affront to demand equal treatment.

58. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council, pp. 215, 237, Royal Instructions, 1922, Art. 4.

59. See Nigeria (Legislative) Order in Council, 1922, Art. XXIII-XXIV.

5.4. The After-effects of the 1922 Constituion and the Implications of Richard's Constitution of 1946

Although Clifford's constitution lived for more than 23 years, the defects which characterized the constitution and its political implications on the Nigerians remained the motivating force which pushed many of the educated Nigerians into looking forward to its early abrogation.[60]
While Lagos remained the major political centre of Nigeria within the period between 1923 and 1946, political consciousness rose gradually within the many smaller urban areas which grew out of the new sociological changing society.
Two major factors can be seen to have helped in forming the underlying bases upon which the political consciousness of the period found its support.

1. The first was the education provided by the missionaries.
2. The second was the chances of the new jobs created by the rapid urbanization.[61]

Political enlightenment within the period could have been rather very difficult without the intrinsic support of these factors. In all ramifications, the political activities after 1922 cannot be said to have been thoroughly analysed if note is not taken of the products of these two factors. The products of the factors constituted the operating figures in the politics of the era.[62]

---

60. See Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 60 ff., Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, pp. 201 ff., Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 21o-223.

61. Kenneth L. Little, West African Urbanization. - A Study of Voluntary Association in Social Change, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 5 ff.

62. See Fafunwa, pp. 156-157, Fafunwa mentioned the political enlightenment of the people as one of the definite contributions of the education offered within the period.

The education provided by the missionaries whould be considered more especially because of the key role the educated elements in Nigeria played in dictating the political pace of the nations, as a reactionary group against the colonial administration.[63]
The educational institutions which rapidly and steadily spread to very remote areas became a sort of connecting and unifying factor among the various people who visited them, and for those areas where the institutions were established.[64]
The institutions served as an instrument of enlightenment into the values of the new style of civilization. It was also these institutions which gave the nationalists of the era the fundamental knowledge and qualifying criteria needed for the politics of their time.[65]

The impact of the products of the missionary educational institutions on the political scenery of Nigeria between 1923 and 1946 can only be convincingly estimated when the role of the Nigerian students and the educated elements within and outside Nigeria at that period is taken into consideration. On the other hand, it is most unlikely that an effective evaluation can be given the various constitutions of Nigeria when one fails to examine the background relating to the principles of those constitutions. In the case of Nigeria, the various political activities of the nationalist groups led by students and the educated elements, and their demands should be considered in order fo find out the raison d'être of the constitutions.

---

63. Lamin Sanneh, West African Christianity, pp. 151-158.

64. See Fafunwa, pp. 128-165. Also Lamin Sanneh, p. 158.

65. See Coleman, pp. 124-125.

The areas of operation of the Nigerian students, the artisans and the educated elements can be studied from two major fronts of influence.

1. Lagos and other urban towns of Nigeria,
2. England and America, where many Nigerian lived mostly as students.

These two major fronts of operative influence can be summed up into the headings: "Internal and external reaction to Cliffdord's constitution of 1922". Or looking at it the other way round, it can be titled: "The internal and external pressure which brought about the introduction of the Richard's constitution of 1946".

5.4.1. Internal Effects of Clifford's Constitution between 1923-1946

This period which fell between the two world wars cannot be credited to have enhanced the political status of Nigeria. But it cannot also be denied, as already shown, that the political consciousness of the people grew enormously within the period. The growth in the political consciousness resulted in the developement of streams of alternative political strategies which culminated in the emergence of many political, social and cultural organisations.[66]

The elective principle introduced by the Clifford's constitution in 1923 contributed effectively in raising, not only the political responsibility of most of the qualified persons, but also helped aroused the consciousness of many, even the illitrates, towards the political aims of the nationalists.

---

66. See Kalu Ezera, Nigeria's Constitutional Road to Independence, in: Political Quarterly, Vol. 30, 1959, p. 133.

5.4.1.1. The age of Associations and its Political Implication

The tendency, thus, increasingly emerged in which people of similar opinions, or those in some way affiliated by trade or descendant grouped themselves into unions, associations or clubs.[67]

Most of such organizations had, as one of their paramount objectives, the protection of the interest of their members. This can be said the more of the trade unions which emerged in the many new urban areas of Nigeria had to resort to this means in order to demand their rights. They realized the advantage they had, and the stronger bargaining position they stood in obtaining their demands when they presented themselves as a strong unanimous body.[68]

Some of the very prominent trade unions which either waxed stronger or were founded after 1923 included:

1. The Nigerian Law Association which was founded in 1923 by Nigerian barristers.
2. The Nigerian Union of Teachers which held its inaugural meeting on 8th July 1931,
3. and the Nigerian Civil Service Union which, though was an older union, waxed stronger between 1923 and 1946.

Unlike the many other smaller trade unions whose interest abounded more on protecting their economic positions, the above mentioned associations or unions have some common characteristics which were in some cases lacking in the other smaller trade unions.

---

67. Cf. Coleman, op.cit., pp. 211-215. The political roles of these organizations and clubs were carefully analysed in Coleman's book.

68. Kenneth L. Little, West African Urbanization, - A Study of Voluntary Association in Social Change, 1965, pp. 24 ff.

One of such characteristics included the relative educational standard which most of their members had acquired. This could not be exactly said of most members of the Palm wine Sellers' Associations or Taxi Drivers' Associations. The Young men Literary Association,[69] for example, cannot be said to be one of those associations whose essential and major objective was mainly to protect, or to exploit their economic position.

The growth in the economic life of Nigeria after 1923 helped accelerate mobility which resulted in the development of new urban areas. In such urban centres which had peoples of different ethnic affiliations, there started another form of unionism.[70] They were no longer unions linked just by the occupational relationship between the members, rather, they were linked by their village, clan, or tribal relationships.[71] People of the same village, clan, or tribe who found themselves in towns outside their areas of origin grouped themselves together to maintain their link with their respective peoples in their home villages or areas.
They played substantial role in the social and economic development of their various villages by taxing themselves to build hospitals, schools, churches and bridges for their people.

---

69. The Young men Literary Association was founded in 1923 by Nnamdi Azikiwe as one of the many literary associations which emerged in Lagos after 1923. They were more interested in organizing debates and talks which created a forum for political discussions as well.

70. Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 89-100.

71. See Coleman, op.cit., pp. 211 ff. Also Crowder, op.cit., pp. 227-229.

They also transferred their political and social knowledge and experience in towns, into the various rural areas, thereby constituting themselves into sources of political information for their villages.[72]
That helped accelerated the rate of political consciousness and modernity in the rural areas of Nigeria between the 1920s and 1920s.[73]

Although, the organisations were mainly forms of improvement, or cultural unions, as the names of many of such unions depicted, they did not limit their areas of operation just to the economic developement, or the cultural and religious problems of their peoples. The political effectiveness of the unions was gradually exploited by some of their members who counted on the solidarity of the union for political support. Thus, these associations were made to become, in some cases, extensions of some of the political parteis or groups.
This was the way such social and cultural associations like, Igbo Union, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa, Edo Union etc. etc. saw themselves been exploited by some of their members to pursue private or group political ambitions.[74]

Another group of associations which emerged within the Clifford's constitutional era included those associations which engaged themselves mainly with controversial political issues rather than just discuss social and cultural events.

---

72. Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization, - A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Changes, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 24-36.

73. See D. Forde, "The Conditions of Social Developement in West Africa", in: Civilization, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1953, p. 485.

74. The understanding of the objectives and motives of some of the tribal unions and the influence they excerted in politics remains very indispensable in any study which intends to investigate into the origin of tribalism in Nigerian politics. See Little, pp. 24-36. Also see Ugbana Okpu, Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics, 1960-1965.

Such associations ranged from the purely debating societies which, however, organized debates on political subjects, to the more political associations like the "Union of Young Nigerians".

5.4.1.2. The Beginning of National Politics: Youth Movements

The "Union of Young Nigerians" was founded in 1923, as its name showed, mainly by some young educated Nigerians who were disillusioned by the method of politics practised by the older generation of Nigerian politicians and nationalists. Ernest Okoli and Ayo Williams were two of the most distinguished foundation-leaders of the association.

The life of the union was dictated by the political events of the time. It seemed to have died down before the rows over the government educational policies simulated the union to be resuscitated by its leaders[75] and renamed in 1933 as "Lagos Youth Movement".

Between 1936 and 1937 the Youth Movement which took the name "Nigerian Youth Movement" developed to be able to challenge the monopoly which Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) had enjoyed since the introduction of the elective principle into the body politics of Nigeria.[76] Many of the educated youth were fascinated by the militant nationalistic theories of the "Nigerian Youth Movement" as enunciated by people like Nnamdi Azikiwe who joined the Movement in 1938.

---

75. The most notable members of the Union by the time it was inaugurated were Dr. J.C. Vaughn, Ernest Okoli, Hezekial Oladipo Davis and Samuel Akinsanya. See James O. Ojiako, Nigeria: Yesterday, Today, and ...? Onitsha, 1981.

76. Cf. Awolowo, Awo, Autobiography, London, 1960, pp. 113 ff.

The educated youth of Nigeria, who could then be found in every corners of Lagos serving as teachers or clerks, received the "Nigerian Youth Movement" as the true national party. The popularity of the Movement was such that is was able to defeat the NNDP in the 1938 elections. The Movement won not only the election into the Lagos town council, but also the three elective seats for Lagos into the Legislative Council. Through the many branches it established outside Lagos, the Movement succeeded in diversifying the political consciousness in Nigeria by engaging itself with national issues and not just only with issues partaining to Lagos like the NNDP did. One of the great effect of the "Youth Movement" in Nigeria was that it helped in awakening the political enthusiasm of many, hitherto, unpolitical youth.
Unfortunately the problem of "power-sharing" in the Movement led to the breakaway of some of the notable members, especially Samuel Akinsanya and Nnamdi Azikiwe.[77]

---

77. N. Azikiwe, Development of Political Parties in Nigeria, London, 1957, p. 8. The so-called "leadership crisis" within the Youth Movement could be said to have centred around the persons of Ernest Okoli (an Ijaw) who was elected president of the Movement to take the place of the former president, D. K.A. Abayome who vacated his position on being nominated by the colonial government into the "National Executive Council" of the country. Ernest Okoli defeated S. Akisanya who Azikiwe had presented as candidate for the presidency. Azikiwe, on the other hand, interpreted the defeat to be the result of prejudice by the other Yoruba members of the Movement against the Ijebu-Yorubas and the Igbos. This issue became one of the major foundations of tribalism in Nigerian politics. See also Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 133 ff.
F.A.O. Schwarz described the split in the NYM as opening the way through which "...tribalism came into the fore of Nigerian politics". F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 61.

After the Youth Movement (NYM) had lost some of her most militant members to the Executive Council, and some as a result of the Feb. 1941 leadership crisis, her strength and influence started dwindling until it underwent an impulsive reorganization under the leadership of Obafemi Awolowo.[78] The height of nationalistic enthusiasm in Nigeria was attained with the formation of the "National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon"[79] (NCNC) in August 1944.

At the invitation of the "Nigerian Union of Students" (NUS) which was founded in 1939, the many, hitherto, different organizations ranging from the trade unions to the political parties, ethnic clubs and literary societies came together to form a united front against the colonial politics.[80] The NCNC, as a result, became a front in which other organizations political, literary, or cultural affiliated themselves in support of the course of nationalism in order to help bring colonialism to an end.

Under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay as president, and Nnamdi Azikiwe as general secretary, the objectives of the Council were carely formulated demanding, as usual, self-government and elective principle for Nigeria and Cameroon. Although the Nigerian Youth Movement declined affiliating its movement into the NCNC, her clear objectives which demanded for the reformation of the indirect-rule system in Nigeria, and for representation of the North in the Legislative Council still made it a very attractive party which could not have been

---

78. Awolowo, Path to Nigerian Freedom, London, 1947. Awolowo who spurred the NYM into life, is an Ijebu-Yoruba. That made Azikiwe's point of view that the other Yoruba were against the Ijebu-Yoruba members of the NYM questionable.

79. Cameroon at that time was under British trusteeship and constituted a province in Nigeria.

80. See Azikiwe, op.cit., p.9.

easily overshadowed by the NCNC.[81]

When the constitution of the NCNC is carefully analysed, one can gain the impression that the founders of the Council were not only concerned with gaining self-government for Nigeria, but were also concerned with assuring the existence of such atmosphere which would guarantee a qualitative conditions for the self-government. Hence, a part of their objective was, apart from securing self-government, also "...to secure political freedom, economic security, social equality and religious toleration in Nigeria...."[82]
Like the NYM, the NCNC was working from the platform of a displeasure for the political set-up in the country, where the Nigerians were treated like second-class citizens and discriminated upon by the British colonial authority. This made the NCNC's effort to secure social equality very timely.
But the strive for religious toleration by NCNC at that time should be seen as a foresighted objective.[83]

The influence wielded by the religious clerics who held offices of importance in the Council could not be completely ruled out. Venerable J.O. Lucas and Rev. A.A. Howells were elected in 1945 as the first vice-president and financial secretary of the Council respectively. These clergymen and

---

81. See R.L. Sklar, Nigeria Political Parties: Power in an Emergent Nation, 1963, pp. 64-72.

82. The Constitution of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, Lagos, 1945, p. 1.

83. Cf. Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 89-100, Edzera examined the contribution which the NCNC made in Nigerian independence.

most members of the Council, it should be remembered, were also beneficiaries of the Christian missionary education. This was why they were able to influence the Council into striving, not only for political power, but also for equality and religious tolerance as political objectives.
The measure of religious flavour which was brought into the political aspiration of Nigerians at that time could be estimated also from Eyo Ita's political writing.
As founder of the "Nigerians Youth League Movement", Eyo Ita tried to use religious sentiments in awakening the national spirit of Nigerian Youth when he wrote that: "Our God is "He" who cares for our homes, our womanhood, or childhood, the moral manhood of our race, our economic welfare, our health and our political freedom.....This God speak's to us through the fruit of our land,...through the love and fellowship of our darling, mothers and friends. He is the God of Nigeria, her abiding genius, her sustaining power.
The youth must realize that it is serving its because through the activities of its movement. It must realize that the whole of Nigeria is of supreme value before God, and that its creative work is part of the vast plan of the Divine Conserver of our values".[84]

The youth whom Professor Eyo Ita intended to address, Calabars or non-Calabars, were either members of one Christian denomination or the other, or they were believers of the Traditional religion, or Muslims.

---

84. Prof. Eyo Ita, Nigerian Youth League Movement, Calabar, pp. 1 ff. See also Lamin Sanneh, op.cit., pp. 157-158. Sanneh showed that inspite of the religious sentiment brought into politics as depicted in this speech, Eyo Ita's political view was, however, against the missionary control of Education.

Ita understood the belief in God as the "Divine Conserver" as an inferred attribute of God which he knew the addressed youth accepted as axiomatic.

This correspondend with the spirit of the time when religious belief and sentiment could not be easily alienated from politics. The nationalists and the youth at the time had not presumed themselves to have grown beyond the reaches of their belief. The whole social environment was presumed religious. The foundation was laid by the Traditional religion and was built upon by Islam and Christianity.[85] For this reason, the mixing of politics with religious flavour should not be seen as something extraordinary. Christianity was even seen and considered by the nationalists as a powerful instrument for achieving freedom for Nigeria.[86]

It was for this reason that members of religious groups, sects and dominations, in conjunction with the more politically conscious nationalists, worked together to fight for changes in the colonial system[87] of government which the Clifford's constitution left behind.[88]

---

85. John S. Mbiti, Introduction To African Religion, pp. 192-194.

86. See Samin Sanneh, West African Christianity, pp. 158-161.

87. Mbiti was of the opinion that it was: "The Chritian ideals of justice, human dignity, love and brohterhood that inspired African leaders to fight against colonialism. John Mbiti, op.cit., p. 185.

88. See Lamin Sanneh, West African Christianity: The Religious Impact, London, 1983, p. 187. Sanneh reported of an instance where a Church leader, Josiah O. Oshitelu came in conflict with the colonial government for his condemnation of their system.

5.4.2. The Impact of External Organisations on Political Activities in Nigeria between 1923 and 1946

By 1923 Britain had still chains of colonies which came under her imperial government. Most of these colonial territories were united by the bonds of their common goals to achieve their emancipation by attaining self-government, and their abhorence for colonialism.[89] It was this unism in rejecting colonialism that found expression in the organizations which tended to represent the obectives of the affected groups.[90]

The organizations produced nationalistic ideas and verses which helped lay the foundation of the various nationalist's groups.[91]

Such international nationalist's organizations found their meeting points in the metropolitan cities of Europe and America where many Blacks and Indians found themselves as workers or students as a result of their direct or indirect colonial connections. One of such organizations was the "West African Students Union" (WASU) which had its headquarter in London. The brain behind the formation of the union was the Nigerian, Ladipo Solanke, who was studying law in England by the time the Union was inaugurated in 1925.[92]

Solanke, in company of other Nigerian, Ghananian, Sierra Leonian, and Gambian friends, made the WASU a centre in which the political, social and economic issues affecting their different countries were discussed.

---

89. See Kalu Ezera, "Nigeria's Constitutional Road to Independence", in: Political Quarterly, Vol. 30, 1959, p.131.

90. Such organisations which existed in Britain included, among others, the African Peoples Union, the Society of People of African Origin and the "League of Coloured Peoples". See F.A.O. Schwarz,op.cit., p. 56.

91. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

92. See Coleman, Nigeria, pp. 204 ff.

As would be expected, Solanke and his Nigerian counterparts stirred the WASU to embrace the political problems of Nigeria too. Between 1925 and 1945 the WASU succeeded in establishing its branches in many towns of Nigeria which helped in propagating the objectives of the union. These objectives centred around the emancipation of the peoples from the psychological, philosophical, political, and soicial effects of colonialism.[93] With the time, the Nigerian members of the WASU were seen to have assumed the role of co-ordination the political feeling of the Nigerians at home with those of other Nigerians outside the country.

They were also in the position to channel those feelings to the appropriate authorities of the Colonial Office in London. The activities of Nigerian nationalists in and outside the country were strengthened and justified by the wordings of the third clause of the Atlantic Charter.
The Charter issued jointly by President Roosevelt and Wilson Churchill as the outcome of their meeting between 9th and 12th August 1914 stated "... the support for the right of peoples to choose their own form of government, ..."[94] as the third of the eight agreed principles. Inspite of Prime Minister Churchill's insistence on limiting the extent of the content of the Charter to the European nations alone, the Nigerian and other African nationalists made adequate use of the principles of the Charter to heighten their demand for, at least, a limited self-government for their countries.[95]

---

93. See Ladipo Solanke, United West Africa (or Africa) at the Bar of the Family of Nations, London, 1927. The aims of the WASU were carefully outlined here by Solanke showing his concern for the restoration of the African personality.

94. Atlantic Charter, in Alan Palmer Dictionary of Modern History, 1962, p. 35.

95. See F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 58. Schwarz sited the effects of the uprising in the Caribeans and the Struggle in India as constituting sources of inspiration for

By 1945, Britain and the colonial administration in Nigeria found themselves under continuous pressure from within and outside the country.[96] The need to respond to the demand for some form of reform in the administrative system became unavoidable. Strikes by trade unions and protests by politically motivated organizations were all that the colonial administration in Nigeria had to cope with. Newpapers such as Nnamdi Azikiwe's West African Pilot, Daily Comet edited by Enahoro, Nigerian Daily Telegraph edited by Isaac Wallace-Johnson, Herbert Macaulay's Lagos Daily News, Ernest Okoli's Daily Service, and many other local newspapers became the organs of disseminating nationalistic ideas and spot-lighting the deficiencies of the colonial government.[97]
At last a new constitution was proposed by the Governor Arthur Richard in 1945 when the pressure became unbearable.[98]

---

nationalism in Nigeria

96. See Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 222, Crowder quoted the American criticism of British colonial policies as published in Life: "Great Britain had better decide to part with her Empire, for the United States is not prepared to fight in order to help her to keep it". ibid., p. 222.

97. See Jean Wheare, Nigerian Legislative Council, London, 1949, pp. 57 ff. and p. 164.

98. Ibid., pp. 169-170.

CHAPTER SIX

6. UNIFYING CONSTITUTIONS AND THE IMPLICATING PROBLEMS: RELIGIONS, REGIONS, OR TRIBES? 1946 TO INDEPENDENCE

6.1. Richard's Constitution of 1946

Until 1945 Nigerians had always expected the announcement of some form of reform in the colonial administration. Such reform was expected to give Nigeria more opportunities in the management of their own affairs and not just discussing them.[1] This high expectation was met with disappointment when on 6th March 1945 the Governor, Arthur Richard, brought his constitutional proposal before the Legislative Council for it to be debated upon.[2]

---

1. The purpose of the constitution, as stated in Richard's Constitution, was shown to be "to promote the unity of Nigeria, to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country, and to secure greater participation for Africans in the discussion of their own affairs". Quoted in: Wheare, p. 170. (Emphasis is mine).

2. See Joan Wheare, The Nigerian Legislative Council, London, 1949, p. 169. Wheare's view that the constitutional proposals were discussed "at length" should not be mistaken to mean that enough time was allowed for discussion. Debates on the constitution only lasted from 6th - 22nd March 1945.

Not only was the constitutional proposal hastily debated upon, but the majority of Nigerians once more found themselves accepting a so-called "reform" which continually held them in boundage.[3]

Even Arthur Richard's predecessor, ex-Governor Bernard Bourdillon, was critical of the method of passing the constitution which allowed the people little or no time to study and deliberate on the constitution[4] as he had promised them before his departure from office.[5]

Most of what could be regarded as reforms in the constitution of 1946, when compared with Clifford's constitution of 1923, had already been initiated or started by the previous Governors. It was the ex-Governor Donald Cameron (1931-35) who injected some innovation into Nigerian judicial system, especially, as it did concern the native courts. Hitherto, the native courts had been misused by the autocratic Emirs, Obas and Chiefs who had, with the use of the "Native Authority system", and the political support of the colonial administration, exacted their authority on their people.

Governor Cameron made it possible for one sentenced in a native court to be able to appeal to a higher court.[6]

---

3. John P. Mackintosh remarked that the Richard's constitution was imposed on Nigeria by the British. J.P. Mackintosh, "Federalism in Nigeria", in: Political Studies, Vol. X, No. 3, 1962, p. 224.

4. See Coleman, Nigeria, p. 276. Also see Crowder, op. cit., p. 225.

5. Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 64-67.

6. Native Court Ordinance, No. 44 of 1933.

This reform initiated by Governor Cameron helped in curtailing the powers of the Native Authorities whose leaders had,in most cases, both religious and political powers over their subjects. It helped minimized the rate at which citizens were subjected to judgment for religious affences rather than for civil crimes in some areas.[7]
Even the three provincial administrations which were contained in Richard's constitution had been initiated by the ex-Governor, Bernard Bourdillon who divided Nigeria into three administrative regional areas in 1939. So that, regionalism as seen in the new constitution of 1946, was no innovation of Governor Richard as such. Regions had existed as provinces before Richard's constitution.

What could be seen as an innovation in the 1946 constitution was the creating of a Legislative Council in which all the different parts of Nigeria were represented.[8] Richard's constitution which went into effect in January 1947, thus, became the first unifying constitution of Nigeria. The constitution, at least, succeeded in bringing to an end some of the difference in the administrative system in Nigeria, whereby the previous Legislative Council only legislated for the South but not for the North. This was already criticized by Richard's predecessor Bernard Bourdillon[9] who proposed a uniform administrative system for the whole of Nigeria.

---

7. See Joan Wheare, The Nigerian Legislative Council, London, 1949, pp. 25-28.

8. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946, No. 1370, part 1.

9. See Bernard Bourdillon, Memoranda on the Future Political Development in Nigeria, Lagos, 1939.

The three provinces which were the creation of the ex-Governor Bernard Bourdillon in 1939,[10] were also armed in Richard's constitution with regional Legislative Assemblies [11] in which representations at regional levels were made possible.

But judging from the method chosen for the composition of the Regional Houses and the central Legislative Council, one would not avoid concluding that the colonial government only developed another new system of transforming the whole nation into a single "super Native Authority".
That was the case, judging from the role the "Native Authorities" were allowed to play in the composition of the Legislative Houses. The constitution made it possible for the British colonial government to continue to control the Council without any legitimate submission to the legislature or the democratic process demanded by the nationalists.[12]

Nwabueze concluded that the 1946 constitution was just like its predecessors, and that " ... its underlying purpose was not to associate the natives of Nigeria in the conduct of the country's government but to enable the British officials to avail themselves of local opinion upon matters of government".[13]
That was why the constitution insisted on selecting and nominating more than 50 % of the unofficial members of either the Legislative Council or the Regional Assemblies from the members of the Native Authorities.

---

10. See Joan Wheare, p. 28.

11. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946. part. 4.

12. See B.O. Nwabueze, A Constitutional History of Nigeria, London, 1982, pp. 43-44.

13. Nwabueze, p. 44.

The constitution, thus, insisted that: "The Provincial Members (ie member of the houses of assembly) shall be selected by such Native Authorities in the Northern, Western or Eastern provinces (as the case may be) from among their own members, or where a Native Authority consists of a sole chief or other person, from among the members of his advisory council, and in such manner as the Governor from time to time direct in writing".[14]

When a Legislative House of Assembly was constituted by people who owed their office to the British colonial government, much could not be expected of the members of such a House in terms of free,impartial and personal opinion. The Regional Assemblies as well as the Legislative Council could, thus, be described as a "super Native Authority". The Houses were only extended arms of the indirect-rule system,whereby the powers of the Emirs, the Obas and the Chiefs were further widened to make the colonial process more effective inspite of the oppositions.

With the religious powers and the little political powers which the members of the "Native Authority" had before, the 1946 constitution greatly helped to set them free from being responsible in any way to their peoples but only to the British colonial government and their agents, (Emirs, Chiefs and Obas) who placed them in office. Those "nominated" into the Legislative Council or the Houses of Assembly could not claim to speak for themselves or their people but for the Emirs, Chiefs, Obas and the colonial administrators who had nominated them into the Assemblies.

---

14. Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946, part. 4, Sec. XXXVIII.

That explains why most of the nationalists rejected the idea of regarding the chiefs, Obas, Emirs and Native Authority members so appointed or selected by the Governor into the Legislative Houses as unofficial members.[15]

Statements such as those made by the Oni of Ife that the chiefs were part of the government and could not see themselves not supporting it, were often quoted by the nationalists to buttress their point.[16]

Taking, for example, the Oni of Ife who was the spiritual father of the Yoruba, the Oba of Benin who was the religious and political ruler as well as a sacred figure among his people, the Emir of Katsina who was the political as well as religious head of his emirate, these traditional rulers no longer owed the mandate of their offices to their people alone. Their offices, after the intervention of Britain, had been officially sanctified by the law of the colonial administration who relieved them of any responsibility to their peoples. They could not oppose the opinions of the government for fear of deposition from office. Neither could their views in the Assemblies easily or roughly be challenged by the nationalists because of the sacred positions they held in the traditional society.

The constitution only succeeded in exploiting the traditional respect accorded the traditional rulers by their peoples by using these rulers who held the nationalists down with their religious powers for the colonial administrators to get through with their views.

---

15. See Coleman, Nigeria, pp. 278-279.

16. Coleman, p. 44. See also Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 225.

One of the early nationalists, Ernest Okoli, as a member of the Legislative Council requested in the Council debate that Nigerians should not only be allowed into position where they could only discuss their affairs, but should be allowed also to participate in the management of their country.[17] Unfortunately, the response Okoli received for his demand was a more dubious system of indirect-rule imposed by the constitution where the British colonial administration exploited the spiritual honour of the natural rulers.

With only four elected Nigerians in the central Legislative Council (three from Lagos and one from Calabar as was the case between 1923 to 1946) the new constitution, from its inception, was proved to be anachronic. Worst was the fact that the so-called Regional Houses of Assembly were denied a real legislative power. This made the whole legislative structure only shabby. It was only a gathering convoked to echo the master's voice with the members (chiefs, Emirs, Obas and selected or appointed members of the Native Authorities) been held in line with the fear of suspension from any of the Houses.[18]

---

17. Legislative Council Debate 22nd March 1945, p. 504, in: Joan Wheare, op.cit., p. 70.

18. See Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946, part. 4, No. XLI (3). The Governor's power to suspend any of the members of the House at his discretion was stated in the constitution which read: "The Governor may, by instrument under the Public seat, declare any Chief, being a member of the House of Chiefs, or any unofficial member of a house of assembly to be incapable of discharging his functions as member of that house, and thereupon such member shall not sit or vote in that house until his is declared, in manner aforesaid, again to be capable of disclarging his said functions".

Added to the fear of losing their positions to which the appointed or selected chiefs, Emirs, Obas and other unofficial members of the Legislative Houses were subjected to, was also the question of the futility of their voting against the will of the government.[19] The constitution empowered the Governor to pass into law any bill he felt in his judgment was in the interest of good government even when it was rejected by the House.[20]
That made any objection by any of the appointed members only a risk to his position, rather than of any legislative advantage towards self-government.

---

19. Ibid., part. 4, No. XLI (3).

20. The section of the constitution which gave the Governor the power to pass a bill irrespective of the decision of the House reads: "If the Governor shall consider that it is expedient in the interest of public order, public faith or good government (which expressions shall, without prejudice to their generality,include the responsibility of Nigeria as a component part of the British Empire, and all matters pertaining to the creation or abolition of any public office or to the appointment, salary other conditions of service of any public officer or officers) that any bill introduced, or any motion proposed for decision in the Legislative Council fail to pass such a bill or motion within such time and in such form as the Governor may think reasonable and expedient, the Governor, at any time in his decision, may notwithstanding any provision of this order or any standing rules and orders of the Legislative Council, declare that such bill or motion shall have effect as it had been passed by the Legislative Council". Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946, part. 3, sec. XXVI.

6.1.1. Reaction to Richard's Constitution

Because of the anomalies which characterized the 1946 constitution, it was justifiably looked down upon by many of the patrotic nationalists. The frustration which was resulted from the disappointment felt with the constitution helped stimulated nationalistic feelings among many Nigerians. Such disappointment with the colonial government and with the white missionaries who showed no sympathy towards the aspirations of the nationalists led to the founding of the "National Church for Nigeria" in 1948 by some of the nationalists.[21]

The Church was formed to express resentiment against the political support which some European missionaries in Nigeria gave the colonial government. Some of the European missionaries, as had been shown, were also taken up by the concept of the superiority of the European culture to the traditional culture they met in Nigeria. Some of the European missionaries found it hard to distinguish between what was purely Christian and what was European.

Before Governor Richard left Nigeria in 1948 the colonial government had started realizing the futility of trying to pay deaf ears to the yearning of the people of Nigeria. Plans were been considered about the possible revision of the constitution after only two years of its life span. The colonial administrators were also aware of the deficiencies of the constitution which badly deprieved Nigerians of any say in their own affairs.

---

21. See Coleman, Background to Nationalism, pp. 302-330.

The possibility of a reform which would guarantee some form of self-government and employment opportunities for more Nigerians in the senior administrative positions in the government was looked forward to.
It was also considered high time the root of the imperial indirect-rule system which was realized in the Native Authority system should be reformed. Such reform, it was thought, should make the traditional rulers, to some extent, once more responsible to their people as was the case before colonialism. All these were some of the demands the nationalists had fought to achieve for more than thirty years.
The possibilities of these changes becoming realities was anticipated with the arrival of the new Governor, John Macpherson on 14th April 1948.

6.2. Macpherson's Constitution of 1951

In reference to the Richard's constitution of 1946, Ahmadu Bello remarked in his autobiography that, " ... though odd in many ways and undemocratic throughout, (the constitution) was an improvement on what had gone before!"[22]
He pointed out that the constitution, at least, for the first time, provide the opportunity for all the provinces or regions of Nigeria to be represented in a legislative body.

---

22. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, London, 1962, p. 61. The Autobiography is a very useful book which protrays the political philosophy of Ahmadu Bello. One can find in the book an outline of the political mechanism upon which Nigerian politics was built in relation to the opinions of the people from the North, and upon which future political relationship between the various peoples of Nigeria could be measured.

He went on to say that, " ... for the first time there was a selection of members by Africans. For the first time there was an unofficial majority in all the areas, thereafter called regions, in the Legislative Council itself. For the first time, ... the North was represented at Lagos and the regions met on common grouds".[23] These was correct,both in the political development of the North as well as that of the South.

The good opportunities offered by the 1946 constitution was well utilized by the people of the North to develope their political positions which, hitherto, had been hindered by the colonial administrators who preferred to legislate directly for the North. Ahmadu Bello admitted that he and the people in the North saw the need "to take politics seriously ... " after he met other Nigerian politicians in Lagos in 1949.[24]

A new era in Nigerian politics was, thus, opened with all the different parts of Nigeria playing the role they inherited by the fact of their social, cultural, religious, and political situations. Until 1947 Nigerian politics was more or less the monopoly of the people of Southern Nigeria versus colonial administrators. So that, between 1914 and 1946 most of the Nigerian nationalists came from the South.

The Southern nationalists were the products of Western Christian education brought in by the Christian missionaries. And by reason of their Western Christian education, most of the nationalists learnt what they thought should be their fundamental rights.

---

23. Ahmadu Bello, p. 62.

24. Ahmadu Bello, p. 66.

With all available means at their disposal, they fought for the emancipation of their people from British imperial dominion.
Unfortunately the Southern nationalists presumed too much by claiming to speak for all the peoples of Nigeria. The complexity of the Nigerian society made this line of thought impracticable. The nature of politics which developed as a result of such logical or illogical presumption formed the bases of Macpherson's constitution of 1951 and the political reality that followed thereafter.

6.2.1. Political Development in the North

Even before the Richard's constitution of 1946 was inaugurated there had been traces of some nationalistic development in Northern Nigeria. But, except for some few educated elements, most of the nationalists which emerged from the North were preoccupied with the thought of liberating the North from their "Southern brothers" and not Nigeria from Britain. Associations were founded in the North as early as 1943 for this purpose. The "Bauchi General Improvement Union" was one of such unions. It was founded by Malam Sa'ad Zungur, Malam Aminu Kano and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as one of the earliest known politically orientated associations in the North.[25] Many other such politically associations which were in one way or the other connected to other political associations of the South developed after 1945.[26]

---

25. See F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 75.

26. Northern Element Progressive Association founded in 1945 by Malam H. Raji Abdallah was connected to Azikiwe's NCNC. See Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties. Power in an Emergent African Nation, Princeton, 1963, pp. 60-89. See also Dudley, Parties and Politics, pp. 77-78.

But it was only the organization, Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa (Northern Peoples' Congress)[27] which later developed to become one of Nigeria's strongest political party. The Northern Peoples' Congress was founded in 1949 by a group of educated Northerners who studied in Europe.

The so-called cultural association was intended to form a forum for cultivating unifying ideas for the Northerners only. Just like the Igbo Union for the Igbo, and the Egbe Omo Oduduwa for the Yoruba.

Whatever was the initial aim of the educated founders of the Northern Peoples' Congress, they were very careful to avoid the wrath of their natural rulers.[28]

That meant, any form of political activity which the Congress intended to undertake should,in words or actions, stear clear of any area which would, in any form, endanger or weaken the autocratic powers of the Sultan and Emirs.[29]

That meant also, avoiding those sensitive areas which guaranteed the hierarchical structure of the emirates, where the person of the Emir or the Sultan was the incorporation of the political and religious powers.[30]

---

27. The founding fathers of the NPC included Dr. Dikko, (a Fulani converted to Christianity), Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Aminu Kano, Yahaya Gusau, Aliyu Mai Bornu, and some other educated Northerners. See R.L. Sklar, op.cit., pp. 75-77. See also Coleman, op.cit., pp. 358-359. For a detailed information about the Northern Peoples' Congress and other political associations of Northern Nigeria. See: Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, London, 1968.

28. In this work, the appellations "Natural rulers" and "Traditional rulers" are used interchangingly to mean the same group of people.

29. B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., pp. 73-75.

30. See Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, ..., pp. 96-100.

A political structure which was effectively supported with the powers of the British colonial administration in the North,[31] was feared to be challenged by the NPC.

Under such conditions, any political or nationalistic agitation which was conceived to be against the British colonial administration could in turn be interpreted to be conceived against the beneficiaries of the indirect-rule structure.[32]

That was the reason why the political agitation in the North was not directed against Britain but against the Southerners. Just as the agitation against British imperialism was the instrument of unification among the Southern nationalists, so did the fear for the Southerners as political dominators of the North became the unifying principle of Northern political nationalism and philosophy. Such statement written by Abubakar Iman in the editorial to his newspaper, "Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo", clearly exposed such feelings. He wrote: " ... There are Europeans but, undoubtedly, it is the Southerners who have the power in the North".[33]

The origin of such feelings could be justified in some form when it is recalled that most clerical post in many of the government establishment in the North at the time were held by people from the South.

---

31. C.S. Whitaker (Jr.), A Dysrhythmic Process of Political Change, in: World Politics, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1967, p. 206.

32. Dudley, ibid., p. 74.

33. Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo, 18th Feb., 1950, in: F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 71.

That, of course, was the side-effect of the isolation policies of the British colonial administration who shielded the people of the North away for a very long time from contact with Western education. The colonial administrators as well as the Emirs needed such policy in order to guarantee the continued subjugation of the people to their control. On the part of the Emirs, the protection of the Islamic religion from the influence of the Christian Southerners living in the North was uppermost in their mind on submitting to such colonial policy of isolation.[34]
The Southerners who, thus, worked in the North were considered rather as imperialists by the Northerners.

It is ironical that, while the people of the South saw the colonial officials as the imperialist, Abubakar Iman exposed the feeling of the Northerners when he said: " ... To tell you the plain truth, the common people of the North put more confidence in the whiteman than in either their black southern brohters .... "[35]
That confirmed Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's view which expressed similar line of thought when he said: " ... The Southern tribes who are now pouring into the North in ever increasing numbers, and are more or less domiciled here,do not mix with the Northern people ... and we in the North look upon them as invaders".[36]

---

34. Cf. B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, London, 1968, pp. 73-77.

35. Nigerian Cizizen, 1st July, 1949.

36. Legislative Council Debates, Nigeria, 4th March 1948, p. 227.

The British colonial administrators in Nigeria succeeded in impressing themselves on the Northerners as their protectors from the Christian imperialism of the Igbo and the Yoruba. Thereby, the ideas grew in the Northerners of protecting themselves against "Southern domination", and the "unity of the Northerners". These ideas became the cornersone of Northern political reactionsism.[37]
One can understand the political principle of the NPC when it is seen in terms of the concerted effort by the colonial administration, using the organization to retain hold of Nigeria against the wishes of the Southern nationalists. But for some members of the organization, the attitute to be adopted toward the Islamic emirate political structure constituted a very sensitive question for the rapidly growing Northern politicians.

While some looked forward to some form of democratization in the emirate system, the majority wanted only a very gradual and decorative amendment to the Emir's feudal system. The former group who were more nationalistic and progressive in their political goals, as they claimed, broke away from the Northern Peoples' Congress in August 1950. Convinced of their goal, they came together under the leadership of Aminu Kano, who though was an aristocratic Muslim Fulani too.
They formed what was to become the first real political party in the North,"Northern Elements Progressive Union"(NEPU).

---

37. Cf. Manifesto of the Northern Peoples' Congress, 1st October, 1951, in: Report on the Kano Disturbances. Northern Regional Government, Kaduna, 1953.

The NEPU in its manifesto had as its objective the emancipation of the commoners "(Talakawa)" from the "vicious circle of the Native Administration" which was referred to as autocratic.[38] Since the power structure in the region lay in the hands of the Emirs, it was ultimately utilized to frustrate all the efforts of NEPU to the advantage of NPC.[39] It is natural that the Emirs had to give their blessing only to that institution which they found favourable to their political power. The Emirs found this guarantee in the NPC whose political objectives clearly showed an unalloyed sympathy for the powers of the Emirs.[40]

---

38. Cf. Report on the Kano Disturbance, 16th, 17th and 19th May, 1953, in: Northern Regional Government, Kaduna, 1953, p. 45. See also Dudley, op.cit., pp. 164-175.

39. See Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, op.cit., p. 30. See also Coleman, op.cit., pp. 363-364. See also B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, London, 1968, pp. 78-87 and pp. 175-180. Cf. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, pp. 70-71. The influence of the Emirs in favour of the NPC in the electoral process was justified by Bello who claimed it was necessary in order to avoid "unsuitable members" been elected.

40. Cf. Manifesto of the Northern Peoples Congress, 1st Oct., 1951. See also B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, p. 134. Dudley reported that, " ... of the ninety members "elected" in 1951 to the Northern House of Assembly, 18.7 % were sons, brothers, cousins and nephews of ruling Emirs, 30 % were district heads, 26 % were District Alkalis (District Judges), 6 % were Chief Alkalis and 69 % were Native Authority functionaries with high ranks". Dudley, ibid., p. 134. The relaions of the Emirs, the district head, Alkalis and Native Authority members owe their office directly or indirectly to the persons of the Emirs. See also R.L. Sklar, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

Beside the mentioned relationship between the NPC and the ruling class, there was also the great role which religion was allowed to play in the outlook of the party. Not only was the religious goals of the NPC emphasized, but the leadership personalities were also in one form or the other shown to be connected with the central figure of Islamic belief. So that, disloyality to the party could be tantamount to heresy against the Islamic religion.[41]

6.2.2. The structural Improvements initiated by Macpherson's constitution of 1951

In order to understand the changes which took place in Nigeria's political conception and structures between 1946 and 1951 as had be shown, it is also very necessary for one to clearly apprehend the conditions which necessitated the reforms in Macpherson's constitution. Such understanding would also make the raison d'être of some of the principles contained in the constitution more comprehensible.

Unlike the Richard's constitution which was imposed on the people with little or no opportunity offered them to discuss it before it was inaugurated,[42] the Macpherson's constitution was the result of about two years discussive exercise. Such discussions even involved the lowest political organs of Nigerian society. The Richard's constitution caused the outburst in the nationalistic sentiments which marked the years after 1946.

---

41. See Ahmadu Bello, op. cit., p. 239. The Sardauna traced his lineage to Prophet Mohamed and talked of himself as an instrument of God in the theological sense. See also Dudley, p. 136.

42. Michael Crowder, p. 225. See also Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 64-67.

With the Zikists[43] in the forefront as militant nationalists, industrial strikes and protest actions were organized to reject Richard's constitution.[44]

The message which the militant activities of the nationalists was intended to convey was well received. It helped usher in the long awaited era. The whole change started in August 1948 when the new Governor, Macpherson, announced that it was justifiable to review the former timetable set by Richard's constitution.

He went on to say that it was appropriate to " ... consider together what changes should be made and whether they should be made earlier than originally planned".[45]

That he meant that the constitution was to be considered together really proved to be true.

On the 11th March 1949, a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council to set up a "Select Committee" to review the extent, method and possibility of changes required to be made to the Richard's constitution.[46]

It was this committee that proposed the extent of the consultations which were to be allowed before drafting the new constitution.[47]

---

43. The Zikist Movement was an organization founded in 1945 by Abiodun Aloba, M.C.K. Ajuluchukwu and Kolawole Balogun. In some sense, it could be seen as the youth wing of Nnamdi Azikiwe's NCNC. But the Movement was just more than that. It was a Movement founded to protect and disseminate the principles and political thoughts of the person of Nnamdi Azikiwe. Cf. A.A. Nwafor Orizu, Without Bitterness: Western Nations Postwar Africa. N.Y. 1944. See also Coleman, op. cit., pp. 296-307.

44. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties ..., pp. 60-87.

45. Sir John Macpherson, Speech of the Governor to the Legislative Council, 17th August, 1948, p. 9.

46. Legislative Council Debates, Nigeria, Vol. III, 11th March 1949, p. 320.

47. Nigeria, Annual Report, 1950.

The "Select Committee" recommended that the tentative constitution had to be discussed from the village level to the national level before it would be submitted to the Legislative Council.[48]

Between March and September 1949 the constitutional proposal was discussed at various stages of the political structures of Nigeria. The suggestions were then passed on to the "Drafting Committe" who put together the people's choice and suggestions.

Nigerians were to choose between a federal system of government or a unitary system with a strong central government and the many other repercusions thereafter as framed by the Chief Secretary Sir Hugh Foot.[49] The "Draft Constitution" was then reviewed by a general conference in which all the three regions of Nigeria were represented. It was at this conference which lasted from 9th to 28th January 1950 in Ibadan that the shape of Nigeria politics was formally outlined. The Ibadan conference marked the official beginning of tribal and regional antagonism in Nigerian politics.[50]

The interwoven structure of the constitution was thereby composed in such a way as to alley those tribal, regional and religious fears and supicions.

---

48. Cf. Review of Constitution, Lagos, 1949, Nigeria, Annual Report, 1950, p. 124.

49. Legislative Council Debate, Nigeria, Vo. III, 11th March 1949, p. 320.

50. Cf. also F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, p. 72. See also Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 105-125, I.O. Odumosu, The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development, London, 1963, pp. 56-65.

6.2.2.1. Regional Houses of Assembly and Method of Election

Under the constitution which received the approval of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies on 15th July 1950, the regional or former provincial assemblies which, hitherto, had only deliberative capacities, were accorded legislative rights[51] on certain matters as contained in the third schedule of constitution.[52]
The constitution made it possible for each of the Legislative Houses to have an elected majority. This was unlike the Legislative Council between 1923 and 1950 in which the majority of the members were either direct or indirect officials of the colonial government, or were appointees of the Governor. Instead of adopting Richard's method of appointing or selecting representatives into the Houses, a new method of direct and indirect election system through electoral colleges at many stages was introduced in the new constitution.

Unfortunately, the constitution made it possible for the Native Authority to "inject"[53] their members into the intermediate stages of the electoral process as it was the case in the West, or in the final stage of the electoral process for the North. Those who won in the intermediate stages formed the final electoral colleges from which the members of the Houses of Assembly were elected.[54]

---

51. Nigeria (Constitution), Order in Council of 1951, Sec. 9.

52. Ibid., schedule III.

53. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. 71.

54. Northern House of Assembly (Elected Members) Electoral Regulation 1951, Public Notice, No. 50.
Eastern House of Assembly (Elected Members) Electoral Regulation 1951, Public Notice, No. 37.
Western House of Assembly (Elected Members) Electoral Regulation 1951, Public Notice, No. 48.

The so elected members which formed the majority sat in the Houses of Assembly with other non-elected members. The non-elected members were either official members or members appointed by the Governor to represent some special interest. That was the first time, partially all Nigerians, except the women in the North who were denied voting rights for religious reasons, were able to choose, at least indirectly, their representatives.

6.2.2.2. Central Legislative Council: House of Representative

Just as the members of the regional Legislative Houses were elected from the respectively composed electoral colleges on provincial, divisional or district levels, as the case may be, the 136 members of the central Legislative House were also elected by the members of the regional Legislative Houses, acting as electoral colleges, from among their members.[55]
In the North, fourty members from each of the two Houses, the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs, sat to elect the sixty-eight representatives of the region into the central Legislative Council.
Each of the two Houses presented half the required number of the representatives of the region. The House of Chiefs of the West presented only three members of the thirty-four representatives of the West into the central Legislative House. In the East, the thirty-four representatives were all elected from the House of Assembly. The composition of the House showed that the representative capacity of the North as a region was equal to that of the other two regions put together. With most representatives of the North in very close understanding with the colonial officials, it was nearly impossible for the more nationalistic Southerners to get through with their struggle

55. Cf. Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council 1951, Sec.19-73.

for early self-government.

6.2.2.3. The Executive Council

In the composition of the Executive Council both at the central and regional levels, a major improvement was scored by the 1951 constitution. The central Executive Council, which was referred to as the "Council of Ministers" was composed of four ministers from each of the three regions. These sat in Council with the other seven official members.[56] Fourty representatives drawn from each of the regional Legislative Houses formed a joint Council whose assent was needed by the Governor for the appointment of the twelve ministers.[57] Each of the regional Executive Councils,on the other hand, was composed of the six officials and nine representative members whose appointment needed the approval of the members of the respective regional Houses of Assembly.

Any minister in either the central or regional Executive Council could be dismissed with the consent of the Legislative House. Two-third majority resolution of the central Legislative House, in the case of the ministers of the central government, or the two-third majority resolution of the regional Legislative House of the concerned region, in the case of the regional ministers, was needed for such dismissal.[58]

---

56. Ibid., Sec. 145-148.

57. Ibid., Sec. 149-151.

58. Ibid., Sec. 130, 152.

6.2.3. Some Notable Deficiencies of the Macpherson's Constitution

When Macpherson's constitution is compared with Richard's constitution of 1946 one cannot but notice the astronomic difference between both of them.
Macpherson's constitution was the first major constitution which really started preparing Nigeria for self-government. That does not mean the constitution did not have its deficiencies. One of such shortcomings in Macpherson's constitution can be found in the areas of the powers which the constitution granted the Governor and Lieutenant-Governors. This is most striking, especially, when the relationship between the Governor of Lieutenant-Governors and the members of his Executive Council as stipulated by the constitution is taken into consideration. The constitution made the Governor very independent of his Executive Council members who were seen as constitutionally subordinate to him. With this, the Governor was made neither responsible to his minister even though the constitution regarded the Executive Councils as the principal policy making bodies,[59] nor to the Legislative Assemblies and Councils.

Even the official members of the Executive Councils were not responsible to the Legislative Assemblies. They were only responsible to the Governor who in turn was responsible only to the British government. This political structure, no matter how progressive it might have been seen in comparison with the Richard era, still left Nigeria very much a dependent of Britain.

---

59. Ibid., Sec. 124 and 146.

60. Ibid., Sec. 88-89.

Other deficiencies of the constitution included the partial definition given to the structural relationship between the central government and the regions. That made the struggle for control of the central positions of influence the most sensitive problem the administration had to face.
The constitution, however, achieved a major breakthrough by extending the elective principle to all parts of Nigeria. But the method of election which the constitution allowed still gave room for many forms of discrimination against those who were not in the "Native Authority Service" as was the case in many areas of the North.[61]
Whatever shortcoming that existed in the constitutions, its inability to satisfy the needs of the political situation was also because "no Nigerian leader felt responsible for ensuring the successful working of the constitution", as Mackintosh remarked.[62]

6.3. Ethnic and Religious Sentiments and the 1954 Constitutional Reforms

There was no reason to doubt the sincerity of Macpherson and his British officials to accelerate the rate of "Nigerianization" of the plitical administration on the regional and federal levels. But the national spirit which had forged the Nigerians all alony against colonialism began to break down as the end of colonialism drew nearer. The concentration on ethnic and religious interest which had started in early 1940 began overshadowing national interests more rapidly.

---

61. See Dudley, Parties and Politics, pp. 175-176.

62. John P. Mackintosh, Federalism in Nigeria, op.cit., p. 225.

6.3.1. The East - West Confrontation

When the Igbo living in Lagos called on the members of their ethnic group in June 1936 to rally together and unite,[63] requesting the members to " ... sink all differences - geographical, lingual, intellectual, moral, and religious, (in order to achieve their) ... great objective - tribal unity, cooperation and progress of all the Ibos (Igbo)",[64] little did they know that they were helping to lay the foundation to the ethnic politics which would disrupt the nation.

The height of such ethnic pride was touched upon when Azikiwe at the Igbo Union Conference in 1949 proclaimed: " ... That the God of Africa has specially created the Ibo (Igbo) nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages. ... The martial prowess of the Ibo (Igbo) nation at all stages of human history has enabled them not only to conquer others but also to adapt themselves to the role of preservers".[65]

This was undoubtedly directed against the Yoruba political-cultural organization, "Egbe Omo Oduduwa" which was founded by Obafemi Awolowo. The leaders of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa had likened Azikiwe to a disruptive "Archdevil". That made Azikiwe, speaking on behalf of the Igbo Union, to which he was elected the president, to direct that " ... the cry (of the Igbo most probably) must be one of battle against Egbe Omo Oduduwa,

---

63. Comet, 27th June 1936, quoted in: Coleman, Backgroung to Nationalism, p. 340.

64. Ibid., p. 340. (Words in brackets are mine)

65. West African Pilot, 6th July 1949. (Words in brackets are mine).

its leaders at home and abroad, up hill and down dale in the streets of Nigeria and in the residences of its advocates . ... It is the enermy of Nigeria, it must be crushed to the earth. ... There is no going back, until the Fascist Organizations of Sir Adeyemo[66] has been dismembered".[67]

The major objectives of Egbe Omo Oduduwa, which was later converted into the Action Group as the major political party in the Western region, was concretely portrayed when Awolowo advised his party that, " ... the Yorubas should first weld themselves together so that it might be difficult for other tribes to break them".[68]

He, thereby, reinforced his pledge contained in the constitution of Egbe Omo Oduduwa which was geared at unifying the Yoruba into a single virile entity.[69]

The cumulating point of the Yoruba-Igbo ethnic suspicions was realized after the 1951-52 election into the Legislative House of the Western region. In comparison with the other two major political groups, the NPC and the AG (Action Group), Azikiwe's NCNC had many non-Igbo members and was well represented in Lagos, as well as in other Yoruba and non-Yoruba areas of Western region. Unfortunately, some of the non-Igbo members of NCNC who were elected into the Western House of Assembly on the platform of their party, the NCNC deserted the party for the sake of Yoruba ethnic solidarity.

---

66. Sir Adeyomi Alakiya was the president of Egbe Omo Oduduwa.

67. West African Pilot, 9th Sept. 1948. (Words in brackets are mine).

68. Minutes of the Action Group, 12th Nov. 1950, quoted in: Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, op.cit., p. 104.

69. Cf. Constitution of Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Ijebu Ode, 1948.

That, of course , deprived Azikiwe the leader of the NCNC, who was also elected to the Western House, a place as a representative into the central Legislative House in Lagos.[70]

The result of the "Western House drama" aggravated more ethnic consciousness among the Igbo members of the NCNC. That had its bitter effect in the non-cooperative attitude toward the 1951 constitution by the NCNC members at the central and regional levels.[71]

6.3.2. The North - South Confrontation

While the Yoruba of the West and the Igbo of the East were busy engaging themselves in a "cold ethnic battle" of words, the Hausa/Fulani of the North stood aside nursing their deep greviances against both groups from the South which they regarded as "invaders".[72]

Already the Sultan of Sokoto, the most powerful Islamic traditional ruler in the North, was reported to have clearly stated the condition under which a union between the Northern ethnic groups and their counterparts in the South was possible. He was of the opinion, " ... that those Southerners who desired a united Nigeria should embrace the religion of the Prophet".[73]

---

70. See also Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, pp. 231-233.

71. See Oluwole I. Odumosu, Nigerian Constitution: History and Development, pp. 82-87. See also Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, pp. 154-164. Cf. Ben O. Nwabueze, A Constitutional Histroy of Nigeria, pp. 50-51.

72. Legislative Council Debates, Nigeria, 4th March 1948, p. 227.

73. See Coleman, p. 361.

The Southerners being mostly Christians and Traditional religion worshippers, were, in his opinion, required to become Muslims in order to create a united Nigeria. Most probably, just as a "United North" was created through the instrumentally of the Islamic religion. That view, of course, negates the motto of the Northern Peoples Congress which the Emirs allowed to read: "One North, One People Irrespective of Religion, Rant or Tribe".[74]
That showed that by the time of founding the Congress some change in attitude had taken place in the direction of tolerating peoples of other religious belief other than the Islamic religion.[75]
But, that part of the NPC's motto which reads: "Irrespective of tribe", should not be mistaken to mean that peoples of other ethnic groups other than those existing within the borders of the Northern region were allowed membership into the party.[76] This showed the NPC to be one of those ethnic or regional conscious organizations whose major emphasis was on their region, the Islamic religion and the Northern ethnic groups rather than the unity of the whole country.

---

74. The Constitution of the Northern Peoples' Congress, in: Report on the Kano Disturbances.

75. It should be recalled that one of the founding fathers of the original Congress was the first Northern medical doctor, Dr. Dikko. He was a Muslim Fulani before he was converted to Christianity and trained in Birmingham. Ahmadu Bello in his autobiography even admitted that the Congress had been started as cultural society by Dr. Dikko. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, op.cit., p. 85. See also Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, op.cit., p. 176.

76. In the Constitution of the Northern Peoples' Congress. Article 10 of the constitution: "Membership", stated clearly that: "The Membership of the Congress is open to all people of Northern Nigerian descent irrespective of creed, rank or tribe". (Emphasis is mine). See Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., Appendix IV, pp. 314-323.

Tafawa Balewa brought this attitude into expression in a Legislative Council debate when he referred to the crave for the unity of Nigeria by the Southerners as self-deceit. He said: " I am sorry to say that this presence of unity is artificial and it ends outside this chamber".[77] While unity between the South and the North was placed under questions by Tafawa Balewa,the Southerners were also afraid of the religious intentions of the Northerners. This fear was based on the utterance of some of the Northern politicians of their intention to continue the "interrupted conquest to the sea".[78] That meant continuing the jihad of Othman dan Fodio to the South which they claimed was interrupted by the colonizing power of Britain.

Under such atmosphere of reciprocal political suspicion and bitterness, the good intentions of the constitution were thereby jeopardiced.
What predominated the minds of the political leaders was how to gain power for the people of their ethnic group regions, religions, and all that power could win.[79] The interest of achieving independence for Nigeria was gradually relegated to the background and precedence was given to regional, ethnic and religious interests.

The height of such preoccupation with regional, ethnic or religious interest was exhibited in Nigerian political history when a resolution was moved in the "House of Representative", on 31st March 1953, by Anthony Enahoro, a member of the Action

---

77. Legislative Council Debate, 4th March 1948, p.227.

78. See Legislative Council Debate, 24th March 1947, p. 212. Speech by Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida, quoted in: Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., p. 22.

79. See Ezera, Nigeria's Constitutional Road to Independence, pp. 133-134.

Group urging the House to resolve and accept " ... as a primary political objective the attainment of self-government for Nigeria in 1956.[80] Little did Enahoro know that his resolution would spark off the rate of trouble that followed thereafter. Judging from the standard of politics at the time, and the amount of consultation undertaken before such an important issue was brought before the Legislative House, one could not have been so surprised at the reaction of the Northerners.
The Northerners regarded the resolution as a sufficient proof to support their fear of the dominative intention of the Southerners.[81] The battle of offensive words between the representatives of the South and North[82] at the central Legislative House gave impetus to the Lagos crowd to insultingly jeer at the representatives of the North.
In revenge, the Northerners in Kano had to charge at the Southerners living in their city killing thirty-six and injurying twenty-seven.[83] Unfortunately, most of the victims of the riot were Igbo, whereas it was the Yoruba who provoked the riot which was the result of the "Lagos insults".

The reason for this revised consequence could only be found in the religious implications of the actions. While most of the Northern delegates insulted in Lagos were Muslim leaders, the direct result was that the fault was to be found in the members of the opposite religion, the Christians.
Fortunately or unfortunately, most of the Igbo living in the North were known vocal Christians, unlike the Yoruba who lived in the North.

---

80. Nigeria, House of Representative Debates, 31st March 1953, p. 985.

81. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, pp. 110-162. Also Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development, pp. 156-172.

82. See Nigeria, House of Rep. Debates, 31st March, 1st April 1953. See also Ahmadu Bello, pp. 110-134.

83. Report on the Kano Disturbances, May 1953, p. 21.

Many of the Yoruba in the North were, rather Muslims. Because the Igbo were the manifestation of that Christian religious group which dared oppose and insult Muslim leaders of the North, they had to reap the consequence of a "crime" committed by another ethnic group.

After the North was able to overcome the temptation of secession from Nigeria,[84] the British government decided to remedy the situation by convoking a constitutional conference to revise the Macpherson's constitution.

6.3.3. Lyttelton's Constitution of 1954

The intervention of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton, seemed to have helped save the complete breakdown of order in Nigeria by 1953. Britain instructed that Macpherson's constitution should be reviewed in order to rid it of its deficiency. To this effect, most of the notable politicians and party leaders of Nigeria representing the three regions were invited to London where they sat at conference with the representatives of the British government from July 30 to August 22, 1953.[85]
The major aim of the conference was to reach an agreement on the timing for the question of self-government for Nigeria.[86]
The conference which was later continued in Lagos in the early parts of 1954, came out with resolutions which went into effect on October 1, 1954.[87]

---

84. Ahmadu Bello, pp. 135-148.

85. See Report by the conference on Nigerian Constitution held in London in July and August 1953, Cmd. 8934, London, 1953.

86. Ibid., p. 3.

87. See Report by the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution held ind Lagos in Jan. & Feb. 1954, Cmd. 9050.

The first major point of agreement was that Nigeria should remain a federated "nation".[88]

The conference agreed also to grant the federal central government reserved competence on certain legislative matters such as external affairs, defence and external borrowing.[89] It made room for a concurrent list for the federal and regional governments. The regions also inherited some residual powers which gave them some degree of autonomy on certain matters.

The three regional governments were to be controllled by their respective ministers under the leadership of "Premiers".[90]

The conference struck a compromise between Enahoro's demand for "self-government of Nigeria in 1956" and Ahmadu Bello's version of "self-government as soon as practicable" by proposing that self-government could be granted to those regions who desired it by 1956.

---

88. This decision was in accordance with the views of Obafemi Awolowo - as contained in the "Constitution of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa", Ijebu Odo, 1948, and in his book "Path to Nigerian Freedom", London, 1947. It agreed in principle with Nnamdi Azikiwe's idea of federation, even though, by implication, three regioned Nigeria was against his set-out views in his books, "Political Blueprint of Nigeria", Lagos, 1943, and "The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria", London, 1957. See also Memorandum on the New Constitution of Nigeria, 27th March 1945. This resolution was concretely in accordance with the demands of Ahmadu Bello as contained in his autobiography, "My Life", Cambridge, 1962. Not entirely, however, with the "eight-point-demands" of Northern Nigeria. See ibid., pp. 142-147.

89. See "The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council", 1960, No. 1652 of 1960. See also John P. Mackintosh, Federalism in Nigeria in: Political studies, Vol. X, No. 3, 1962, p. 226.

90. John P. Mackintosh, pp. 224-226.

The status of Lagos was, rather, one of the most controversial issue which the conference had to attend to. Although the Western region, represented by Awolowo's Action Group (AG), and the East, represented by Azikiwe's National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), were in a quasi-alliance against the powerful Northern People's Congress (NPC) of Ahmadu Bello, the East sided with the North in the demand that Lagos be made a "Federal territory" instead of remaining a part of the Western region.
Despite vehement opposition by the West, Lagos was separated from the Western region.
The national legislature, which was to have a lifetime of five years, was exponded to have 184 members, half of which were to represent the North. Elections to the national legislature was separated from those to the Regional Houses, thereby creating room for direct elections.

However, the method of election by electoral colleges was retained in the North unlike in the other two regions. The unchanged electoral system in the North made the control of the Islamic hierarchy in the region to remain unbroken. With the use of the electoral college, Native Authority officials of the Islamic emirates continued to monopolize the political powers of the region.
Lyttelton's conference succeeded, however, in reaching a compromise in another sensitive issue which involved the composition of the federal ministers. Each of the three regions had the right to three ministerial seats appointed not just by the Regional Assemblies, but by the leaders of the parties which were in control of the governments in the regions.

The work of this constitutional conference was further complemented by the report of a commission charged to envolve a fiscal arrangement for the nation.[91]

6.4. Constitutional Amendments for an Independent Nigeria

It was the Macpherson's constitution which outlined the structural arrangements upon which the politics of Nigeria was built in preparation to grant the "nation" her independence. Macpherson allowed the process of real "nigerianization" to start within the era of his governorship. This process which he initiated was not allowed to collapse even after he left Nigeria in 1955.

James Robertson, his successor, made some impressing start by showing himself to agree with the political views and administrative methods initiated by Macpherson.

Robertson announced his readiness to co-operate with the process of the "nigerianization" of the country by allowing the Nigerians themselves to play the major role in the policy-making organs of the country.[92]

It was during the period of Robertson's governorship that the question of the constitutional arrangement for Nigeria's independence became the major point of attraction in Nigerian politics.

---

91. See Report of the Fiscal Commission on Financial Effects of the Proposed new constitutional arrangements, Cmd. 9026, London, 1953. See also Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, No. 1146, 1954. Cf. Report by the Conference on the Nigerian Constitution held in London in July and August 1953, Cmd. 8934, London, 1953. Report by the Resumed Conference on the Nigerian Constitution held in Lagos in January and February 1954, Cmd. 9050, London, 1954.

92. See Coleman, Nigeria ..., p. 373.

The period was marked by a relative calm in the inter-ethnic, or inter-regional suspicions, and religious bigotry which had nearly led to the collapse of the "united" Nigeria between 1948 and 1953.

As agreed during the Lyttelton's constitutional review conference of 1953/54, the delegates of Nigeria and the British representatives came together in London once more to review the constitution inherited from Macpherson. The conference which was under the chairmanship of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Alan Lennox Boyd, lasted from May to June 1957. It was further resumed in London from September to October 1958.[93]
The relative unanimity of the Nigerian delegates on a number of issues made it possible for the conference to reach agreement on some of those points which had, hitherto, been very problematic. It was agreed that the Eastern and Western regions could demand self-government for their respective regions as soon as they wanted to.[94]

---

93. See Report by the Nigerian Constitutional Conference held in London in May and June 1957, Cmd. 207, London, 1957. See also Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in September and October 1958, Cmd. 569, London, 1958.
The conference started in 1957 instead of the previously proposed date in 1956 because the problems surrounding the financial dealings of Azikiwe with the African Continental Bank. It was alleged that Azikiwe, as Premier of Eastern region, diverted the fund belonging to the government of Eastern region into financing the bank in which he had major interest. A commission of enquiry was set-up by the British government to inquire into the allegation which found Azikiwe's connection with the bank, in some respect, improper. See "Proceeding of the Tribunal appointed to Enquire into Allegation of Improper Conduct by the Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria in connection with the affairs of the African Continental Bank limited and other relevant matters". August to November 1956, Lagos, 1957.

94. Report by the Const. ... Conf. ..., May/June 1957, Art. 6.

The West and East, thus, attained self-government on 8th August 1957, while the North deferred her's till 1959.

A bicameral system of legislature was also extended to Eastern region. In all the three regions, the second Houses, the Houses of Chiefs were " ... empowered to delay the passage of Bills that have been passed by the Houses of Assembly (other than money Bills) for a period of six month".[95] Instead of the Governor-General presiding over the meeting of the Executive Council of the ministers at the federal levels, the new constitution created the office of the Prime Minister who headed the government as leader of the federal Executive Council of Ministers.[96]
At the regional levels the Premiers were to take the places of the Governors as the heads of the governments and of the Councils of Ministers. The Governors and Governor-General had still substantial roles to play in the legislative process since their consent were still needed for the enactment of laws. The honour of being the first Prime Minister of Nigeria was granted to Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Although he was the deputy-leader of his party, the NPC.

The NCNC and the NPC formed an alliance which formed the first independent coalition government of Nigeria.[97]
A federal bicameral legislature was also established,[98] whereby the second House, (that is, the House of Senates), was created.

---

95. Ibid., Art. 23.

96. The Nigeria (Constitution-Amendment), No. 2, Order in Council, No. 1530, 1957.

97. Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 245. Also see F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria ..., p. 112.

98. Report, Constitutional Conference ..., 1957, Art. 27.

Each region and South Cameroon was represented by twelve members as part of the 52 members of the House of Senates. No member of the federal Executive Council was allowed to be simultaneously a member of the House of Senates.[99] Members of the Executive Councils were to remain members of the first House, the House of Representative which was also enlarged to have 320 members.

The first President of this senate, who later became the first native Governor-General of Nigeria, was Nnamdi Azikiwe.[100]

6.4.1. The Qestion of Self-Government (Independence) for Nigeria[101]

When Anthony Enahoro, in 1952, proposed in the House of Representatives that Nigeria should have her self-government in 1956, Ahmadu Bello insisted that such an important resolution which involved the independence of a country " ... should not have been moved at all unless there had been general discussion and agreement by all the parties".[102] Ahmadu Bello's argument was in line with the views of his compatriot, Ibrahim Iman, who in his contribution to the debate on the question of self-government for Nigeria said: "To me a motion of such political significance and importance ought to have been discussed by all the Regions of Nigeria.

---

99. Report, ibid., 1957, Art. 28.

100. While Balewa, a Muslim from the North, became Prime Minister, Azikiwe, an Igbo Christian became Governor-General and later the President of Nigeria, This method of distribution of sensitive offices on the basis of the South/North and Christian/Islam dichotomy seemed to have become an unwritten law in Nigerian political development.

101. Report, 1957, ibid., Art. 48-59, and Report, Constitutional Conference ..., 1958, Art. 82-85.

102. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. 116.

Self-government for a poplulation of over thirty million people is not a matter of little importance that can be taken up independently by one party, forming only a section of the community, ... "
But we have (NPC or the Northerners) not been consulted or asked for our views and opinions before this motion was tabled. ..."[103]
On the basis of the reciprocal ethnic fears and religious bigotry which characterized the period before 1953, Iman's argument was logical. This time, however, religious and regional chauvinism seemed to have given way to national interest.

The question of self-government for Nigeria received a very different response when it came up again in 1957/58. The necessary groundworks which Bello and Iman asked for, (that there should be inter-party and regional consultation and agreement on the issue) were met with. That made it possible for Ahmadu Bello to speak on behalf of himself and the other regional Premiers of Nigeria and Cameroon at the 1957 conference. He said: "We have given further consideration to the Secretary of State's statement on the independence of the Federation of Nigeria. We feel bound to express our disappointment that it has not been possible for Her Majesty's Government to give an understanding to grant independence to Nigeria on a date to be named in 1960 by the new Nigerian Parliament.

---

103. Nigeria, Debate of the House of Representatives March 31 and April 1, 1953, quoted in: Ahmadu Bello,pp. 122-123. (words in brackets are mine)

The year 1959 has been unanimously proposed by the people of Nigeria, and we have given consideration to a date in 1960 only because we appreciate the solution to the various problems that must be disposed of before independence will take longer time that we had thought ... We can do no more than ... pursue the issue further with a view to impressing upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity for granting independence to the Federation of Nigeria no later than 2nd April, 1960."[104]

Why was the North not ready for self-government for Nigeria in 1956 but ready for it three years later?

Except for the reasons of structural underdevelopment of the Northern manpower in comparison with the other regions of Nigeria by 1953 there was no other logical reason to buttress Ahmadu Bello's argument for refusing independence in 1956 and wanting it in 1959. Other than the baseless fear of the infrastructural domination of some Muslims in the North by the regions of the South and, undoubtedly, the partially justifiable self-pride of the members of the NPC, it could have been possible for Nigeria to attain her independence earlier.

On the basis of the concensus reached by the Nigerian Parliamentarians to request for independence in 1960, Alan Lennox Boyd, the chairman of the 1957/58 constitutional conference stated that " ... Her Majesty's Government would agree to that request and would introduce a Bill in Parliament to enable Nigeria become a fully independent country on the 1st October 1960".[105]

---

104. Report, Constitutional Conference ..., 1957, Art. 54.

105. Ibid., Art. 54.

6.5.2. Ethnic Minority Question and the Independence of Nigeria[106]

Even before the assumption of the constitutional conference in 1957, the smaller ethnic groups who found themselves scattered within the three regions, had started voicing out their discomfort. There were already many parties and organizations which were formed to represent their views.[107]

In general, some of the so-called ethnic minorities were more politically conscious than many of the so-called big "tribes".[108]

In terms of political growth, Calabar, which is a minor ethnic group had enjoyed the elective system since 1923 with Lagos.

By 1923 many other parts of Nigeria never knew any form of elective representation.[109] The Edo, the Itsekiri and Ijaw, who are also regarded as ethnic minority groups in Western region had experienced the Western civilization before most

---

106. Report of the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference ..., 1958, Art. 84.

107. See Ugbana Okpu, Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics, 1960-1965, Uppsala, 1977. Okpu treated the questions of the basic problems which surrounded the Ethnic minority question in Nigeria. He pointed out the central role this question occupies in the search for a harmonious Nigeria. As usual, the ethnic problem was placed on the forefront of Nigeria's problems. Little or nothing was said about religion as an important factor in the whole debacle.

108. Okpu, pp. 64-68.

109. See also Coleman, Nigeria, p. 199.

of the other ethnic groups in Nigeria.[110]
But as the system of politics in Nigeria developed on the Western parliamentary model, using population as a qualifying criterion, many of these so-called ethnic minorities in Nigeria were forced aside by their more populated ethnic neighbours who tended to dominate the political history of Nigeria.[111]

During the constitutional conference of 1957/58 the case of these ethnic minorities could no longer be suppressed by the three dominant ethnic groups. The minority groups in each of the three regions wanted states to be carved out for them from the three existing regions. They were dissatisfied with the political and religious situations into which they were forced by the larger ethnic groups.
The constitution conference had to constitute a commission which was empowered to enquire into the veracity of the ethnic minority fears and to recommend the remedies for them.[112]
The report[113] compiled by the commission headed by Sir Henry

---

110. See F.U. Egharevba, A Short History of Benin, Ibadan, 1960. See also R.E. Bradbury, The Benin kingdom and the Edo-Speaking People of South-West Nigeria, and the Itsekiri (P. C. Lloyd), London, 1957. The first Europeans who visited Nigeria in the 15th century called first at the former Benin Kingdom.

111. Cf. Ugbana Okpu, pp. 64-68. See also Ezera, Nigeria's Constitutional Road to Independence, pp. 135-138.

112. Report of Const. Conference ... 1957, Art. 24.

113. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of minorities and the means of allaying them, 1957/58, Cmd. 505, London, 1958. The commission held public sittings, meetings and discussions throughout Nigeria from 23rd November 1957 to 12th April 1958. (This Report will be quoted as: Report on Min. Fears).

Willink and three other Englishmen contained their findings. It was submitted to the resumed constitutional conference in 1958.

On the bases of the recommendations of the commission,[114] the British Secretary of State for the Colonies gave Nigeria the option of accepting independence in 1960 or postponing it to allow for the creation of more states as requested by the representative of the minority ethnic groups.[115] In the face of overt opposition by the representatives of most of the major ethnic groups and the understanding of some of the representatives of the minority ethnic groups, independence for Nigeria in 1960 took preference. The conference thereby succeeded in drawing up a constitutional guideline[116] which led Nigeria into independence, and upon which subsequent constitutional reforms were based. The constitutional relationship between Nigeria and Britain continued still till 1963 when Nigeria became a Republic. A ceremonial President replaced the Governor-General who had been the representative of the Queen of England in Nigeria and with that Nigeria gained her full sovereignty. The constitution which evolved from the work of the commissions proved unique and different from the previous constitutions.

---

114. The Commission favoured the enshrining of the fundamental human right in the constitution to the creation of more states or regions.

115. Report of Resumed Const. Conference ... 1958, Art. 44-50: The first other region created was the Mid-west which, after the plebicite of JUly 1963, became a region. Other states created later were the results of various military decrees.

116. The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, No. 1652, of 1960.

The pre- 1960 constitutions had always attempted to solve the problems of Nigerian politics without making adequate attempts to curb the causes.
The "Independence constitution" of Nigeria, by providing for the principles of the human rights, as requested by the minorities made it possible for those who, for religious or ethnic reasons, were discriminated upon, to see the constitution as the guarantor of their rights.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. RELIGION IN POLITICAL APPARATUS OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIZED NIGERIA

Having gone through the details of analysing the constitutional process which led to the achievement of independence for Nigeria, and having shown the impact of the religion on the process, it would be necessary now to see the effects of the religious bigotry in the normal political life of Nigeria under her constitution before independence.
Each of the three major political parties which controlled the government of Nigeria before 1960, the AG, the NCNC and the NPC depended strongly on what apparently had always been characterized as their regional or ethnic constituencies. But it would be very necessary to find out to what extent the three major religions, Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion helped to influence the political aspiration of the proponents of politics at that period, either in the form of a political party, or in the form of a constituted pressure group.

7.1. Religious Influence in Party Apparatus

There was no doubt, that, to an impartial observer of Nigerian political scenery before independence, it might appear as if the political sways were dictated by regional and ethnic consciousness alone. Within a narrow spectrum, one can adequately admit that to be correct. This was based on the fact that each of the three major parties left their parties open to all irrespective of the religious affiliation.

Analysis showed, however, that each of these major parties was also in one form or the other victims of their socio-cultural environment.
That made it possible for the religious experience of the majority of the members to have an uncalculated influence on the ideas and goals of the parties. The situation could be seen in the light of Joachim Wach's view that "Institution such as marriages, family, kingship, and state are perceived in the light of the central religious experience, and corresponding ideal of society is formulated".[1]

Taking into consideration that, except the very few educated Nigerians by 1960, the majority of the people were not indifferent to their religious upbringing.[2]
The religion, be it Islam, Christianity or Traditional religion, continued to exact its influence on the Nigerian politics through the members of the religion who were also the politial elites. This is why it would be very unconceivable to have expected a total dichotomy between the emirate system of the Northern region, which was fused together under the umbrella of the Islamic revolution of Othman dan Fodio, and the ruling party of the North, the NPC, which was headed by a descendant of the Holy Prophet[3] and a member of the Islamic royal family.

---

1. Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, Chicago, 1944, p. 47.

2. Cf. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion, London, 1975. See also Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, pp. 6-7, Bolaji Idowu, African Traditional Religion, pp. 169-172. Cf. Mike Chukwuma, Possibilities of an African Christianity, 1982.

3. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, Preface, p. VIII. Bello depicted his idea of the continuity of the jihad when he said: "My ancestor was chosen to lead the Holy War which set up his Empire. I have been chosen by a free electorate to help build a modern State".

That shows why it was also impossible to dissociate the Northern People s' Congress from the ideas of forcefully wanting to convert the whole of Nigeria to an Islamic empire, as was feared by the people of the South.[4]

On the other hand, neither the major Party of the Western region (AG), nor that of the Eastern region (NCNC) could completely dissociate itself from the influence of the religious environment in which they were situated. The Action Group, as had been shown, owed its origin to the cultural association, Egbe Omo Oduduwa. The legendary personality, Oduduwa, was and remained a political and religious symbol among the Yorubas.[5] There was no doubting the fact, that the intrinsic meaning of this figure, Oduduwa, continued to inspire the political aspiration of the members of the Action Group.[6]

But any such association between the Action Group and the spiritual meaning of Oduduwa cannot, in any way, be compared with the association which existed between the NPC and Islam.

---

4. This fear of the continuation of the jihad could have arisen as a result of statements made to that effect by members of the NPC. The NPC members gave the impression that the interrupted march to the sea could be resumed soon. Cf. Dudley, op.cit., pp. 22.

5. Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp. 59-61.

6. Constitution of Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Ijebu Ode 1948. The constitution depicted the interest of the association to maintain the political and religious powers of the Yoruba Obas.
Writing about the origin and activities of the Action Group in relation to the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Patrick Ollawa showed that the Action Group party maintained a good relationship with the Obas and the Egbes (members of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa) in so far it was to the advantage of the members the party. See Ollawa, Demokratie und nationale Integration in Nigeria, ... , pp. 336-339.

The difference can only be measured in terms of the general standards of association known to characterize the relationship between religions and politics in both areas.[7]

The NCNC, which had its areas of influence predominantly among the Igbo of Eastern region, shared many of the religious quality of the Yoruba AG. Both NCNC and AG were led by Christians who were converted from their predominantly Traditional religious environment. The majority of the leaders of the NCNC, like those of the AG, came from a class of educated elements who enjoyed Christian missionary education. Although some of them were converted to Christianity, they found no satisfaction in it because of the implicative relationship between Christianity and colonialism in Nigeria. They tended to be more indifferent to their beliefs in comparison with the Islamic members of the NPC.

---

7. See S. Johnson, The History of the Yorubas, London, 1912, See also Peter Morton-William, "The Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo", in: D. Forde and P.M. Kaberry, (eds.), West African Kingdoms of the 19th Century, London, 1967. Cf. Daryll Forde, The Yoruba-Speaking People of South-Western Nigeria, International African Institute, London, 1969. See also Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, pp. 5-11. S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Tradition, London, 1966. These authors showed the relationship which existed between the politics and religions among the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani.

8. See F.A.O. Schwarz, Nigeria, pp. 50-53. It would be recalled that members of the Zikist Movement, a radical nationalist movement which was indirectly affiliated to the NCNC as its youth wing, founded in 1948 the National Church of Nigeria. The Church was supposed to be a Nigerian Christian organization. It was supposed to express the reaction of the members against the type of Christianity brought into Nigeria by the Europeans which was seen as a form of religious imperialism. See K.O. Onyioha, The National Church of Nigeria: Its' Catechism and Credo, Yaba - Lagos, 1950.

But no matter how indifferent to Christianity and the Traditional religion the members of NCNC and AG might have appeared, there existed in them a form of fundament option for their religions in the face of confrontation. This phenomenon could be noticed in the cases of their confrontations with the Muslims, even within the same region.[9]

7.2. Religion in Politics -- Analytical Method

Relying mainly on the account of our investigation, and judging from the data of political history of Nigeria, which is accentuated by her socio-cultural tradition, we find that the speculations about the influence of religion on Nigerian politics would no longer be an hypothesis based on aberational guesses. The influence of religion on Nigerian Politics showed itself to have gone beyond the stages of remaining just a questionable phenomenon. It only need a deligent approach to be constructed with which an analytical explanation could be found to interprete the roles, activities and pronouncements of some of the leading political figures of Nigeria before independence.

---

9. See Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the Means of allaying them, Cmnd. 505, London, 1958. Art. 50-57 dealt on the fears of the Muslim Yoruba who constituted a minority within the Western region. The Muslim Yoruba complained of the disadvantages which they were made to suffer because of the Christian-dominated government of the AG in the West. Such disadvantages were mainly in the areas of education where the Arabic study in the schools did not receive the financial blessing of the government. The Muslims political leaders also complained that Muslim proprietors of schools were discriminated upon by the government system of granting financial allocations to private schools.

The religious influence which motivated the attitude of these political elites toward political, judicial, social, economic, and cultural decisions, will be examined within the perspectives of the religious experience which formed their personalities.

A clear and authentic result of such investigation would help in determinating how far the influence of religion had gone in the establishment of a constitutional apparatus in Nigeria. It was not uncommon for religious groups to establish for their members and their belief strategies which were intended to help reinforce the influence of their religions. Various instruments of propagation these objectives were frequently used in the hope of gaining an advantage over one another.

In the case of Nigeria, it would be interesting to establish and re-construct the intrinsic and extrinsic intruments and method which the various religious groups used in making their influence an inextricable part of Nigerian politics.[10]

The instrument of religious propagation should not necessarily be interpreted to constitute an organ of political influence. Attempts to propagation a religion in itself, could be a form of expressing the belief in the philosophy of a said religion without any political zeal attached.

---

10. Professor J. Isawa Elaigwu (Univ. Jos, Nigeria) is of the opinion that in distinguishing the various religions and their influence on the politics of a nation, one had to be aware of the fact that, while some religions are in themselves intrinsically politically "radicalizable", there are those religons which, potentially, appear to be socially progressive but politically shy.
(Personal interview, Jos, December 18th, 1984).

Instruments of the propagation of a religion would be called into question only when it can be established that the advantages from such religious propagation were consciously and intentionally converted into political dividends.

7.3. Religion and State

In any community of men brought together by virtue of nature to form a natural group, or by virtue of association to become a community, religion has been singled out as one of the most powerful agent of cohesion in such a society. Religion has also the potentiality of allowing itself to be the instrument of disunity in a given society, when the religious ideals are misinterpreted and misused.

In a society characterized by some grade of homogeneity, the potentiality of religion constituting itself into the unifying force of the society is greater than in a heterogeneous society which is devolved with many shades of unrelated opinions.[11]
On the other hand, it is nothing new to learn that religion had been the cause of hatred, animosity, wars and tensions in societies which had, hitherto, found themselves solidified under the bond of natural social brotherhood.

The introduction of a new religion into a society must not always be the cause of such tensions. In some cases, as history shows, tension and hatred in a homogeneous society could be the result of differences in the intensity of a religion on their different members.

---

11. See Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, Chicago, 1944.

When a tension in a given society is the result of the introduction of a new religion in a state in which the society and religion had, hitherto, enjoyed a harmonious relationship, the method of administration in the state under such situations would be forced to change its emphasis in order to accommodate the realities of the changed society. Religion, in its relationship with the state, serve as an organ perpetrating order and morality in the society. With their moral codes and expectation, religions aim at realizing for their members the fulfilment of their personalities only within the context of their religious associations. While this could be evaluated as a positive unifying potentiality of religion, this objective could also be interpreted by other religions as a divisive attribute. Other religions could see this as an attempt to shield their members away from the influence of other religions. This are,of course, natural characteristics of religions to see the completeness of the holy in their groups.

Basic rationality on the ontological meaning of religion, on the other hand, will presuppose that such negative parochial phenomenon, such as religious bigotry, or religion being intrinsically divisive, are in themselves, irreligious and contradictory to the very essence of religion.[12] Naturally, each religion sets for its members a body of ethical or moral standards which make it possible for the religions to lead their members into achieving the goals and the ideals of their belief.

---

12. See Norbert Schiffer, "Religion", in: Karl Rahner, Encyclopedia of Theology, Burns and Oates, London, 1975, pp. 1357-1362.

But sometimes, these norms, ordinances and ritual of a religious group appear incoherent and unappealing to other persons whose experience have been moulded by a different religion. This is where great care must be taken in any religiously heterogeneous state.

No matter how unattractive such rituals may appear to non-members of the religion, non-members need to realize that: " ... such incoherent and unappealing rules of conduct and norms are the expression of an urge to realize the divine order, to adopt reality to it, and thereby to assure the functioning of an order upon which depends the existence and well-being of manking or of a particular group of men".[13] In order word, not matter how unco-ordinated and disorganized such laws, rules, values rituals, or ordinances of a religion may appear, they are directed at stregthening the bond of their membership in an effort to achieve the fullness of their belief in what they regard as "holy".

A religious group, however, cannot live up to the expectation of their creed when the group sees in their religion an instrument of antagonism which, when uncontrolled, could disrupt the relationship between the state and other religions. Iwe's vision of a creative religion stands appropriate to this line of thought when he defined creative religion as that which "must be original, pioneering, exploring, self-reforming and -reinforcing, renovating and restructuring itself in all efforts to relate itself to the needs of the people".[14]

---

13. Joachim Wachs, op. cit., p. 49. See also William A. Robson, Civilization and the Growth of Law, New York, 1935, p. 30.

14. Rev. Dr. N.S.S. Iwe, Port Harcourt, N.D., p. 49.

The needs of the people include the respect of their religious rights by the members of other religions. Self-reforming will, thus, include taking the pluralistic nature of the society into account. In making reformative and compromising demands of any religion, considerations should, however, be given to the fact that the motivating force of a religion is, not just the needs of the people or the state but the central principle of its faith. A religion has, as its essence, the notion and the being of the divine, the sacred, the holy and the supernatural.[15] These essential aspects of a religion have to be respected in any form of relationship between it, the state and other religious groups.

On the other hand, where a given society which forms a nation has, with time, developed to become heterogeneous, whether because of the existence of many religions, or because of some pronounced difference in the intensity or interpretation of the dogmas of a religion among its member,[16] the religion or religions in such a state or nation should see it as a religious duty to creat another level of harmony. The new level of harmony should be in conformity with the constitutional principles of operation in the society.[17]

---

15. Cf. Norbert, Schiffer, "Religion", op.cit., pp. 1357-1362.

16. Wach said that, " Religious communities vary not only with regard to their apprehension of the numen or the content of the theoretical expression of their religious experience but also in the degree of their religous fervor or intensity".
Joachim Wach, The Comparative Study of Religion, p. 125.

17. See Joachim Wach, The Comparative Study of Religion, London - N.Y., 1958, pp. 125-127.

It is only on such bases that each of the religions can guard themselves against cultivating a discriminative attitude toward one another. When, however, such situations are not guarded against, the likelihood of the outburst of fanaticism among the members of a religion cannot be easily ruled out.

Religious fanaticism will be regarded, in such cases, as the result of a narrow minded attitude toward one's religion which stems from one's myopic interpretation of the onto-theological implications of one's obligation towards the religion. Religious bigotry is a result of false evaluation of the essence of a religion in relationship to other religions and the state.

Writing on the function of religion in the society, Iwe said that, "the spirit of sound progress will inspire organized religion or the Church to see that its concept and exercise of authority, the spirit and standard of its service to the people are in keeping and comparing favourably with the achievements of humanity in the 20th century - in terms of law, liberty and justice, human dignity, human right and democracy".[18]

The role of religion in a state will then become questionable when the religion is known to hinder the natural human rights of the society to pluralism, instead of guiding those rights.

---

18. N.S.S. Iwe, p. 49.

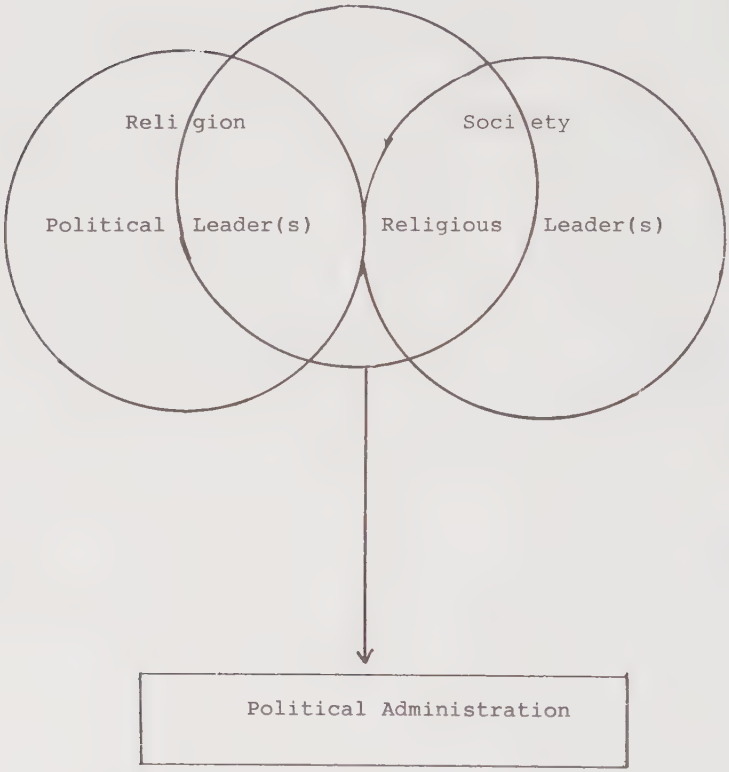
7.4. The Extent of Influence Exerted by Religions on Nigerian Politics

The role of religion in the political administration was one of the major aspects examined in our effort to analyse the political systems of Nigerian traditional political societies.
It was shown that religion continued to play a central role in the societies in which the political actors were as well the religious leaders.[19] This situation was uninterrupted in many societies as long as the societies remained homogeneous. In Nigeria, a shift in emphasis in the societies' administrations started with the introduction of the two foreign religions, Christianity and Islam. Thereby, the homogeneities in Nigerian ethnic political societies were, for the first time, officially thrown out of balance after the introduction of these new religions.

---

19. See chapter 2 of this work. The various traditional political set-ups of some of the major ethnic groups of Nigeria were examined in this chapter.

Fig. 7.1.: Religion in Homogeneous Traditional Societies*



*
The diagram shows that, in a homogeneous traditional society, religion constituted a part of the administrative organs of the society. It was even possible for the leadership of the political and religious arms of the society to lie in the same person or in the same groups of persons.

When Islam was introduced into the territories of Nigeria in the 11th century,[20] it sought the courts of the kings for its best breeding place.[21]
With the conversion of Umme Jilma, the Mai of Kanem-Bornu empire, he systematically gave preference to the worship of Islam in his empire. Islam,thereby, displaced the Traditional religious worship as the official religion of the empire. The homogeneity of that part of the Nigerian society was, thus, broken. This,thereby, created a society in which two religions were to live side by side. Inspite of the preferential treatment which Islam enjoyed by virtue of the powers of the kings, the Traditional religion was known to have survived. Islam, however, gained the upper-hand in the traditional societies, where it found itself. It, thereafter, constituted itself into the force of cohesion which fused the people together under the patronage of their kings.[22]

What Othman Dan Fodio achieved through his jihad (1804-1829), was the expanding of the areas of influence of Islam. He secceeded in disrupting the concordance which had existed between Islam and Traditional religion in some societies to the advantage of Islam.[23]

---

20. Islam in Nigeria is said to be traceable to Bornu where it had existed by 1097. Cf. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, p. 2.

21. See Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford, 1962, pp. 107-108. See also Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspective, pp. 21, 68-69.

22. See Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, pp. 140-144. See also Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., pp. 2-10.

23. Dudley, pp. 5-6. See also chapter 2 of this work.

He succeeded in creating political leaders who were at the same time the religious leaders.[24] The Islamic Fulani who displaced the Hausa kings had the duty of enforcing their religion on their subjects. The Emirs delegated into emirates by the Sultan were political, was well as religious leaders of the emirates.

It was then left to the politico-religious emirate leaders, who succeeded Othman dan Fodio to strive at achieving homogeneous societies in which Islam and politics would be one and the same.[25] The process of striving to create Islamic homogeneous societies in the emirates of the North was, however, disrupted by the intervention of colonialism and the third religion, Christianity.[26]

What Islam had partially succeeded in achieving in the North, Christianity, which was introduced in the Southern areas, failed to achieve there.

As early as 1472, when the Portugese first set foot on the soil of Benin, they were keenly interested in converting the chiefs and the Obas into Christianity.[27]

Under the reigns of the Obas of Benin and Yorubaland, the combination of religious and political functions in their kingdoms was very natural.

---

24. Cf. M.G. Smith, Govt.in Zazzau, Oxford, 1960. Also see St. Croix, The Fulanis of Northern Nigeria, London, 1972. See also chapter 2.2. of this work where the Islamic revolution of Othman dan Fodio and his political system was extensively discussed.

25. S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirate of Northern Nigeria, London, 1966.

26. See C.L. Temples, Native Races and Their Rulers, London, 1968, p. XVIII.

27. Cf. Jacob U. Egharevba, A Short History of Benin, p. 15 ff,

The Christian missionaries were convinced that the conversion of any of the Obas to Christianity would enable them to convert their kingdoms into Christian societies. Although they were unsuccessful in their attempt at founding Christian ruled states, the Christian missionaries, however, succeeded in sowing the seeds of their faith into those areas. They helped, nevertheless, to disorganize the existing religious equilibrum in the societies. The societies were no longer as homogeneous as they were before the introduction of Christianity. Even when the Itsekiri Prince Domingo 1., who absolved eight years theological studies in Portugal came to the throne,[28] he could not succeed in swaying his people totally into Christianity. Christianity had to content itself with occupying only the second place in the traditional administrative set-up of the ethnic groups in Southern Nigeria before colonialization.

One can then say with much accuracy that the religions which enjoyed political protection and which exercised political influence within the territories of Nigeria before colonialism were the Traditional religion and Islam. While most parts of the North came under the political domination of Islam, most parts of the South of Nigerian territories were administered to by rulers whose right of office found their foundations in the Traditional religion.
With the intervention of colonialism and the changes in the source of political power, Traditional religion in the South gradually lost its political force.

---

28. E.A. Ayandele, African Historical Studies, London, 1979, p. 56.

On the other hand, Islam being more organized than Traditional religion received a better respectability in the hands of the colonial administration.[29]
The Sultan and Emirs were granted the right to "rule over the people as of old",[30] that is, the continuation of the Islamic rule, where religion and politics were one, was allowed to flourish.

This permission given by the colonial government guaranteed for Islamic leaders the protection needed during the course of their enforcing the Islamic legal tenets, even in those areas which were not occupied by Muslims. Since the Islamic political system which demand an uncompromising obedience to the leaders favoured the wishes of the colonial administrators, they were very much ready to help the Emirs expand the rules and their influence to other areas.
The Christians,as Ayandele showed, though, taught to read the Bible, or to be Christian carpenters and Christian clerks who should not engage themselves too much with political issues, were also taught "that all men were equal".
As much as could be seen, there was no such effort to separate Islamic religion from the politics of the Northern region during the early years of colonialism, as was the case in the South. In the South where Christianity was given freehand in her work of evangelization, she succeeded in ejecting a neutralizing spirit into the society, whereby, religion was made to see politics as another and a different arm of the society.

---

29. See Northern Nigeria, Annual Report, 1902, No. 409.

30. Ibid., No. 409.

While it cannot be said that Christianity displaced the Traditional religion in its function as the instrument of political administration in the South, there was no doubt that the two major religious systems strove at playing a more influencial and competitive role in politics, as in Eastern region. In the case of the Western region where Islam was also strongly represented, its members joined in the game of the struggle for power between the adherents of the Traditional religion and Christianity.

7.4.1. Religious Influence in an Amalgamated Nigeria (1914-1946)

Probably, some problems could not be said to have arisen from the adopted attitude of the colonial administration toward the various religions, if the different territories of Nigeria had remained separately and were still independent of one another. The colonial administration, as the result of the analysis showed, had nothing to loose in appearing neutral in the struggle for political control between Christianity and Traditional religion in the South.[31] The opposite was, however, the case in the North.

The colonial administration had ulterior motives, other than their love for Islam. Islam was protected because of the use made of the religion for their administration.

---

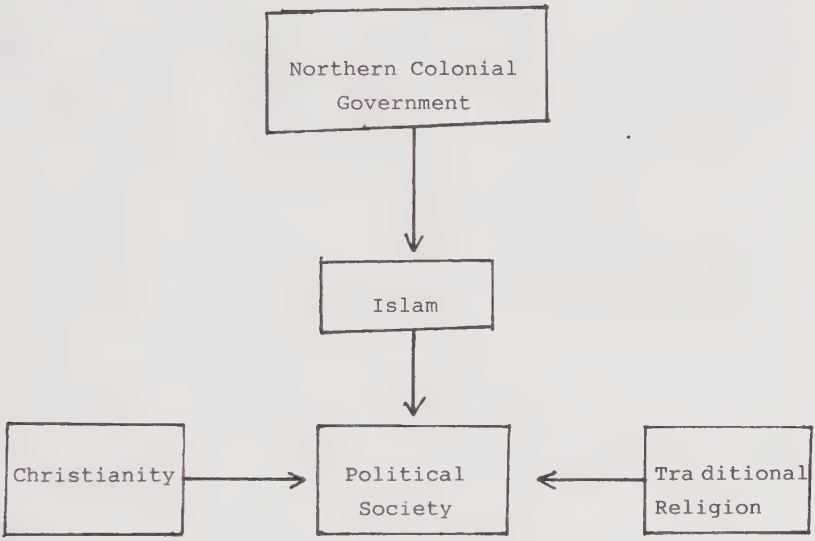
31. Ayandele sited many cases in which some traditional rulers and kings felt insulted that their subjects disobeyed their laws because of their Christian belief. He gave the example of King Eyo Honesty II of Creek Town (Old Calabar), who made such complaint. Ayandele, African Historical Studies, pp. 61-66.

That was why competitions between Islam and other religions were avoided. In the South, on the other hand, where the doctrines of Christianity on the "equality of all men" constituted a threat to the colonialists, the society succeeded in achieving for itself the needed harmony in which all religions and religious beliefs were, to a certain extent, seen and treated equal, with non of them allowed to have official overriding influence over the others.[32]

---

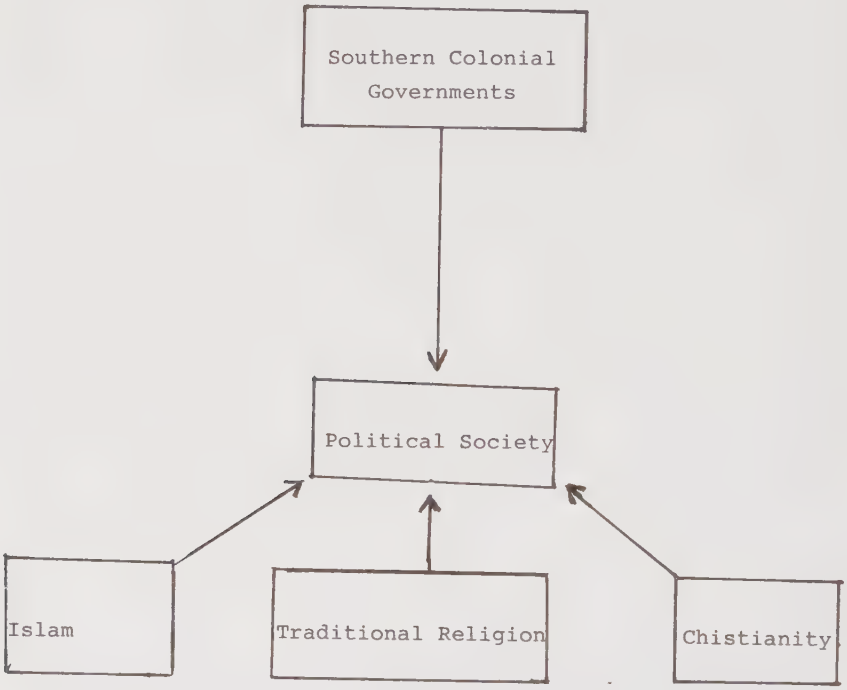
32. See M. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London, 1937. See also F.W. de St. Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, London, 1972. These works contain detailed descriptions of the system of administration adopted by the British in Nigeria. St. Croix's work is supposed to have traced the origin of the political powers of the Islamic Fulani who dominated the political scenery of the North.

Fig. 7.2.: Colonial System of Administration in the North*



*The diagram shows that Islam was used by the Northern Colonial government as an instrument of administering the political society. Traditional religion and Christianity were only tolerated outside the administrative circles. Although Traditonal religion and Christianity were free to exact their influence on the political society, that was only under the condition that they did not constitute a threat to intrinsic value of Islam for the administration.

Fig. 7.3.: Colonial Administration in the South*



*Unlike the Northern Colonial government, non of the religions was used by the Southern Colonial governments as an administrative religion. The religions were, as much as possible, allowed to have equal chances in the political society where they vied for positions of influence on the political administration.

Until 1947 there was no immediate foreseen danger from the fact that two different systems, in relationship to the religions, were utilized by the British colonial government in the administration of the North and the South.
It was only after 1947, when, for the first time, the native political representatives of both areas met, and the political-cum-religious rancor between both religions officially started, that the effects of the partiality showed themselves.
Before this time, the statement of the Sultan of Sokoto in 1942 to the student delegates, that the Southerners should become Muslims as a pre-condition for a "united Nigeria" was only taken for a mere sentimental and jocose outburst from a religious leader.[33]
The antagonistic quarells between members of the different religious groups in the House of Representative in Lagos after 1947 showed that the Sultan might have been serious.
He was no mere religious leader. He was also a "first-class political leader" whose opinion could never have gone unnoticed in Nigerian political milieau.
Even when his opinion was not taken seriously at the national level, that was not the same in the North, where his opinion could be equated to a religious command.

On comparing the administrative structure of the North with that of the South till independence, one will see that the Sultan, the Emirs and Islam were carefully integrated into the new administrative system by the British officials.

---

33. See Coleman, Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, p. 361.

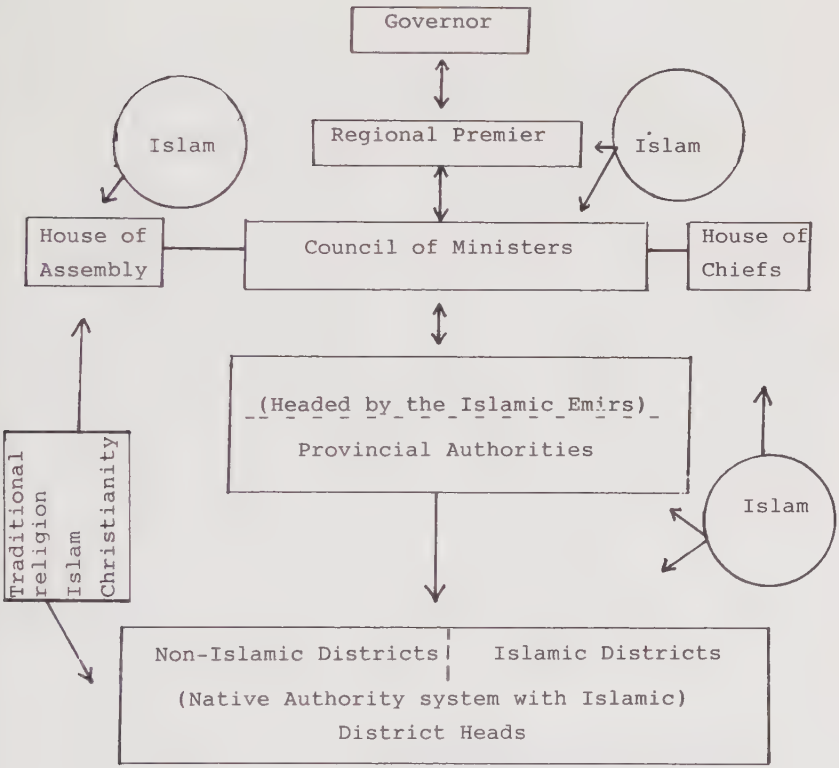
The religious, as well as the political powers of the Sultan and the Emirs were even enlarged to the extent that some of them became despotic.[34]

The incorporation of the Obas, Obis and the chiefs of the South into the colonial administration was on a secular basis. All the same, one can only conclude that, under such conditions, an intgration of the Obas, Obis and chiefs into a wider political entity, in which their political powers shrouded in the garment of religion was democratially systematized, would not have succeeded without generating some religious, as well as political grudges.

---

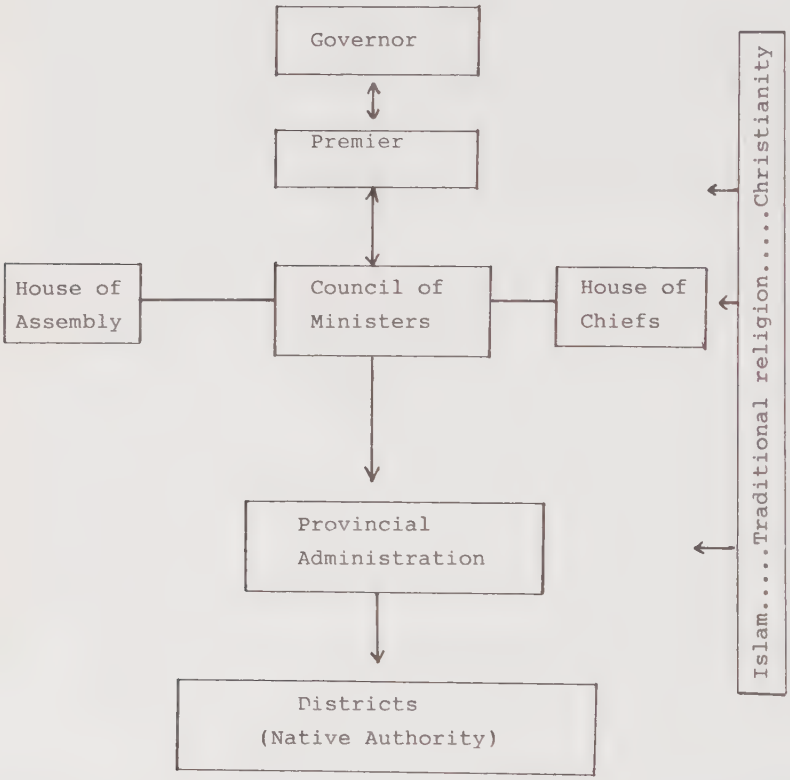
34. Cf. St. Croix, The Fulanis of Northern Nigeria, London, 1972. See also Dudley, Parties and Politics in Norhtern Nigeria, pp. 15-25.

Fig. 7.4.: Influence of Religion in the Regional Government [35]
Northern Region - 1954-1960



35 The diagram shows that the influence of Islam was allowed to be felt in the different stages of the administrative organ. The other religions, on the other hand could only exact their influence in areas which were predominantly inhabited by non-Muslims. Only few non-Muslims found their way into the House of Assembly because of the method of election which was more favourable for the members of the Native Authority.

Fig. 7.5.: Influence of Religion in the Regional Government[36] Eastern and Western Regions 1954-1960



36. Comparing the influence of religion in the governments of the Eastern and Western regions with that of the Northern region, one sees that the three religions found themselves outside the political structure. However, Christianity was able to gain an upper hand in influencing the decisions of the government. This was not only because of the close relationship between the "White missionaries" and the colonial administrators, but also because most members of the government were products of Christian missionary schools.

7.4.2. National Government and the Influence of Religion

According to the desires of the British colonial administrators in the North, the eduacational policies were to be such that, in preparing students for their future role and occupation in society, "(Students) ... should as a rule follow in the occupation for which they were destined. The standard should be low so that the boys will not be allienated from their friend and parents by too great a sense of superiority".[37]
This suggestion by the Kano province educational officer was not altogether out of place with desires of the Emirs who had even asked that special schools should be established for their own children. The views of the Emir of Kano and the Emir of Kontagora were that the gap between the royal family and the ordinary people could be harmed when the children from both classes of families were allowed unrestricted association.[38]

Even when one cannot point to any secondary school in the North as specifically built for the training of the children and relations of the Islamic royal families for the role they were to play in future, primary schools for this

---

37. Suggested policy in Primary and Elementary Education in Kano Province, Jan. 14, 1928. quoted in: Coleman, op.cit., p. 139. This measure was decided upon in order to avoid the occurance of such situation as was the case in the South, where education became the instrument of emancipation for the indigenes.

38. Conference of Chiefs of the Northern Provinces, Summary of Proceeding 1938 (confidential), p. 20, 21. in: Dudley, op.cit., p. 16. This situation was further described in detail by Dr. Sunday Ochoche, (Univ. Jos) in a personal interview, Dec. 18, 1984. Based on his personal experience, he confirm this desire for double standard as a fact.

purpose abound in many emirates.[39]
On the other hand, Katsina College which was founded in 1921 as a teachers' training school seemed to have served the purpose of preparing the relations of the royal families for their future political role. As Coleman reported, the Emirs had a proprietary interest in the schools, especially, Katsina College and "undertook to fill them with students".[40] Going through the list of some of the men from the North who later became the forebearers of Nigerian politics, one cannot but have enough reasons to agree with the assertion that Katsina College was a preparatory group for preparing the children of the Islamic aristocratic families.

---

39. Abhaji Sarki Waziri, the Secretary to the Emir of Kano showed me such a school which was specifically built within the walls of the palace of the Emir of Kano. The school was and is used for preparing the children of the members of the royal family for their future roles in the society. About a hundred metre away from the palace is situated the primary school for the children of the common people. (Interview and observation carried out on December 20, 1984).

40. Coleman, op.cit., p. 138. This view was also expressed by Dr. Sunday Ochoche who described Katsina College as an institution created for the education of the children and relations of the royal family in preparation for the modern politics. (personal interview, Dec. 18, 1984).

Katsina College Old Boys Political Record [41]

Name	Political Role
1. Alhaji Ahmadu Bello	Premier of Northern Region and Leader of NPC. (Member of the Sokoto Fulani aristrocratic family)
2. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa	Prime Minister of Nigeria and Deputy Leader of NPC. (Member of the Bauchi Islamic aristrocratic family)
3. Alhaji Aminu Kano	Leader of opposition in Norhtern House and Leader of NEPU, the opposition party. (Member of the Kano Fulani aristocratic family)
4. Alhaji Aliyu Makama Bida	General Treasurer of NPC and Regional Minister of finance. (Bida Islamic aristocratic family)
5. Isa Kaita, Madawaki of Katsina	Regional Minister of Education. (Member of the Katsina Fulani aristocratic family)
6. Alhaji Ahman Galadiman Pategi	Regional Minister of Agriculture and forestry.

41. Source: compiled from: Cf. Dudley, op.cit., p. 106. L.K. Jakande (ed.), West Africa Annual, 1966.

It is now easier to understand the political attitude of some of these Katsina College old boys when the objectives behind the education are known to us.
Whatever political course was later adopted, one cannot but rather trace the origin to those whom they represented : the Islamic royal families. They were trained, probably, to maintain and expand the empire they inherited, as Ahmadu Bello claimed. But the political administrations, using the organs of religion, as it existed in the North, could not be said to have generated much problem, so long as the areas of influence were conferred to the North. At the same time, one could not rule out the intention of the Emirs to extend their politico-religious tentacles southwards. Alhaji Abubakar Balewa might have unconsciously exposed the intention of the Northern delegation to the federal Legislative Council when he charged that the interrupted "Islamization" of Nigeria through the "holy war" would continue if the British colonial administration were to leave Nigeria by 1947.[42]
The fear of a possible Islamic expansion on the part of the Christian Southerners, and the insubordinate challenge which the Muslims saw in Christianity could have found their origin in such statement .
When the nine nominated representatives of the North met with their counterparts from the South under the formed Legislative Council which, for the first time, brought representatives of both areas together, it was not very easy for both groups to adjust to the realities of their situation.

---

42. Nigeria Legislative Council Debate, 24th March 1947, Lagos, p. 212. "I should like to make it clear to you that if the British quited Nigeria now at this stage the Northern people would continue their interrupted conquest to the sea". (Emphasis is mine).

Just like some of the Southern representatives who were either chiefs or Obas, most of the representatives of the North were Islamic Emirs[43] who were used to combining their religion with their functions as political administrators. The difference, one could speculate, was that the Oni of Ife, from the South, for example, was already used to the secular system of administraion, in which his religious powers have only little weight in the regional or national administration. On the other hand, the political powers of the Emirs were unchallengable by an "inferior", in their region. One going through the list of nominated members into the National Council which existed for the South alone between 1923 to 1946 will notice that many of the nominees were also clergymen.

The Christian clergymen, just like the various Christian members with some denominational affiliation could have also been greatly influenced by their doctrinal belief and would have tried to influence the decisions of the House, with their belief. But, no matter how conservative people like Rev. T.A.J. Ogunbiyi, or Dr. Francis A. Ibiam[44] might have appeared in the Legislative Council, they showed no aspiration to impose a political administration in which only the Christian moral standard of judgement would be accorded political recognition.

---

43. The Emirs who represented the North included the Emir of Katsina- Usman Nagogo, the Emir of Abuja-Sulemanu, the Emir of Gwandu-Yahaja and the Attah of Igbirah. Other members of the representation are Aliyu Makama Bida, Tafawa Balewa, Bello Kano, Iro Katsina and Yahaya Ilorin. That meant that the North was just represented by religious leaders or children of district heads. Tafawa Balewa was described by Gordon J. Idang "as a devout Muslim and feudal aristocrat,..." G.J. Idang, Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policies, 1960-1966, Ibadan, 1973, p. 52.

44. Rev. T.A.J. Ogunbiyi and Dr. Francis Ibiam were members of the 50 man General Converence who reviewed the Richard's Constitution in 1950.

This may be, because of their different realization of the pluralistic nature of their society, and their ability to tolerate the effects of such pluralism.

A question could also still be asked. What was the influence of the many Southern politicians who were the product of missionary schools? It should be expected that, with Herbert Macaulay, who was the grandson of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Azikiwe, Awolowo, Akinsanya, Mbadiwe[45] and many other Christian political elites who were brought up under strict moral - educational standard which characterized the mission schools, they would fight to inject some of these Christian principles into politics to make them national standard.
Fortunately or unfortunately, most of the Southern politicians on the national level were consumed by the passion to achieve independence for Nigeria. Some even went as far as expressing their dislike for Christianity, in the form it was brought into Nigeria by the missionaries.[46]
Such group, led by the political Zikist Movement, for example, founded their own Church or Religion which tended to compare their "idol", in the person of Nnamdi Azikiwe, with Mohamed, Ghandi, Lenin and Christ.

Isaac Delano considered the Christian missionaries as a mere agents of the British empire.

---

45. Most of Nigerian's early politicians from the Southern areas of Nigeria were products of mission schools. We shall see more on this when we consider the instrument of religious influence on politics.

46. See Isaac Delano, One Church for Nigeria, London, 1945, Many of the politicians and products of the mission school were disappointed by the indifference of the white missionaries to the repressive attitudes of colonialism in Nigeria. See Ayandele, African Historical Studies, pp. 239-243.

Christianity, in his opinion, had the duty of distracting the attention of the people by turning their attention to the cross while the land and people were despoilt of their riches[47] by the colonialists.

With such disfavourable notion of Christianity in mind, most of the politicians from the South who found themselves sitting in Council at the national level, had no ambition whatsoever in defence of Christianity.[48]

The preoccupation of the Christian politicians to emancipate themselves from their colonial bondage gave them no time to undertake elaborate programms for the sake of Christianity. Although there could be major differences about the emphasis placed on religion at the regional levels, the diversity in religious belief of the members of the federal Legislative and Executive Councils made it possible for the nation to maintain, as far as possible, or as far as the members of the Councils could allow, a neutral attitude towards all the religions on the federal level.

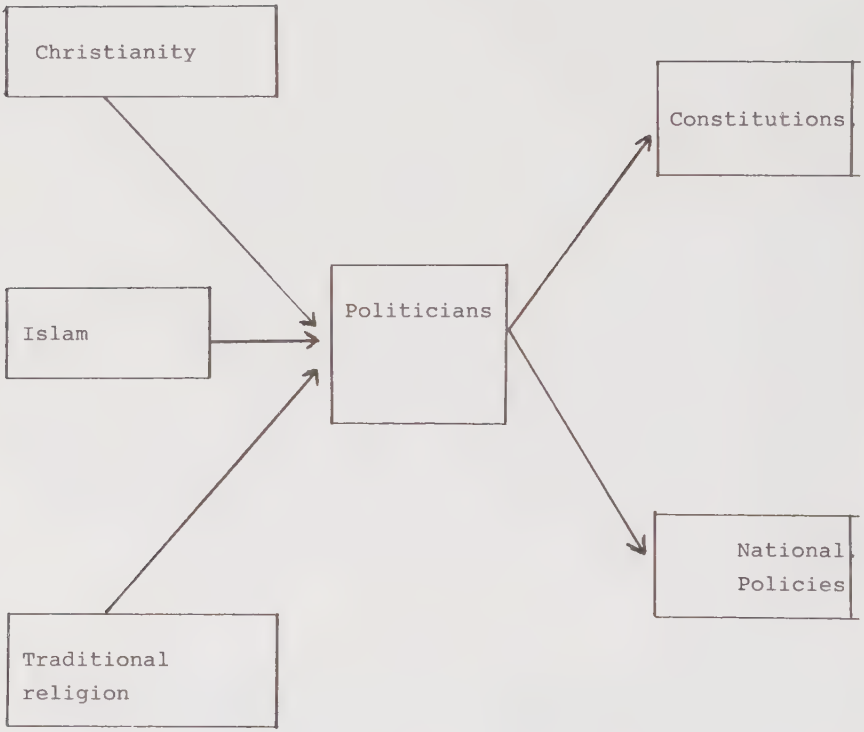
This does not mean that religious groups did not try to influence the policies of government. It only mean that the political administration was not allowed to be based on the religious code or principles of any particular religion.

---

47. Delano, ibid., pp. 12-15.

48. Cf. Coleman, op.cit., pp. 105-112. Coleman was interested in exposing the contempt of the early nationalists towards the missionaries whom they thought collaborated with the colonial administrators in perpetrating colonialism. A good example of the flexible nature of some the early Nigerian Christian political elite to the Christian up-bringing could be seen in Azikiwe's account of his Christian belief. Cf. Richard L. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, p. 118.

Fig. 7.6.: Religious Influence on the National Policies*
1947-1960



* At the national level, non of the three religions had an official area of influence within the administrative structure as it was in the Northern regional government. The religions were able to influence the national policies only through their members who were politicians.

The politicians were always aware of the influence of the three religions in the society. They were also aware that the society was watchful and ready to give interpretation to any act or policies which could be considered to be motivated by religious favouritism.

Inspite of the watchful eyes of the society and the innate desire of the national government not to carry out any act which could be seen as favouring a praticular religion, cases of policies motivated by religious influence existed.

An example is the report of V.H.K. Littlewood, the federal Minister of Education who, commenting on the chances of education which were made available by his ministry, said that,"he gave moslems the largest rate of expansion than any religious group ... in order to bridge up the gap they suffered in terms of the free primary education".[49]

If chances of education were shared on the bases of religion and not just by reason of region or ethnic group,one has no reason to doubt, that more sensitive issues[50] would not also

---

49. In Daily Service, 7th December 1959, p.2.

50. Such sensitive issue could be noticed in the areas of the foreign policies. Because of Islamic relationship between the Muslims in Nigeria and their counterparty all over the world, the foreign policies of the nation was made to show sympathy toward the Arabic Islamic nations. Such sympathy was further cemented through mutual visits occasioned by government sponsored religious polgrimages. See "Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them". July 1958, London, Cmnd. 505, chapter 9, Art. 17, pp. 61-62. The Christians on the other hand did not fail to influence the foreign policy decisions of the nation towards cultivating a sympathetic attitude in the relationship with the Christian world.

have been influenced by the question of religion. It could also be that political offices were distributed on the basis of religious affiliation. Inspite of the fact that the federal government put in every effort to maintain a neutral course in her relationship with the different religions, the pressures from religious groups represented by members in the government could, at times, be overwhelming.
Such religious pressures from members could also lead into making a political decision in order to please particular groups.

As Gambari pointed out, "the Christians influence, exercised through the missionary activities and through Nigerian Christian leaders remain very strong in the South, and Roman Catholicism had been particular powerful in Eastern Nigeria". He went on to say that, "the Premier of the Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello, was very involved in pan-Islamic activities, became vice-president of the World Muslim Congress, an in the late 1960 went on religious conversion tours in non-Muslims area of his region".[51]

---

51. I. A. Gambari, Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria under the First Republic, Ahmadu Bello, Zaria, 1980, p. 95. See also chapter 3 and 4 of this work where the activities of the Christian missionaries and the reaction of the Muslims were extensively analysed. Some of the best answers to the activities of the Nigerian Christian political elites in their relationship with the Muslim political elites can be seen when the essays in chapter 3 on the British colonial rule in Southern and Northern Nigria is read relatingly to the essay on the impact of nationalism on the constitutional growth in Nigeria and the undercurrent role of religion which is in chapter 4.

7.4.2.1. Religious Pressure in the National Decision-Making Organs

The pressure and conflicting influence of the various religions in the decision-making process of the national government showed itself most vividly in the formulation of the foreign policy attitude towards the Middle East problems.
While the Muslims were sympathetic towards the Arab nations, the Christians gave their sympathy to Israel.
The Prime Minister of the National government, who also was the Vice-President of the NPC which was the senior partner in its alliance with the NCNC, found himself under constant pressure from, and at time, in conflict situation with the President of his party NPC, Ahmadu Bello.
Ahmadu Bello, in words and deeds showed himself to be outrightly anti-Israel and pro-Arab nations.[52]

Although, as a regional Premier, he had no direct constitutional compentence on federal government policies, but,as the President of the ruling party which controlled more than one-third of the seats in Parliament, he found no reason why his wishes of an anti-Israel policy, based on the solidarity with the Islamic Arab nations, should not be made a national policy.[53]

Gambari reported that, "The Arabs sought to develope ties with the Muslim elements in the country and with the government of the largely Muslim Northern region.

---

52. See Gambari, ibid., p. 106.

53. Gambari, pp. 100-102, 106.

The Israeli tried to maintain and develop relations with the Christian elements in Nigeria and with the Eastern and Western governments.[54]

In the face of the conflicting wishes of the Muslim and Christian political leaders, the federal government had no alternative than to maintain a so-called "neutral stand" towards the Middle East countries.

Inspite of the so-called "neutrality" of the federal government in order to satisfy the Christians and the Muslims, the non-existence of a Nigerian in Israel could not be said to be completely unconnected with the stand of the Nigerian Muslims towards Israel. This only show how the different religious groups had tried to influence the national politics.

It is, however, pertinent to use the opportunity to ask more questions about the relation between Nigeria and the Middle East countries in order to find out the extent the religion of some members of the Nigerian community helped to enforce a policy on the nation, whose basis could only be found in their solidarity with their religion.

In considering the chosen relationship with Israel and other Middle East countries, one who is aware of the pronounced ani-Israel policy of some Muslim members of the NPC and its leadership, on the other hand, would surely be surprised by the relative "neutrality" which the Prime Minister of Nigeria showed toward Israel inspite of the opposition from his party President, Ahmadu Bello.

---

54. Ibid., p. 98. Tafawa Balewa must be praised for not have allowed his government to be totally influenced by the Islamic zeal of Ahmadu Bello whose aspiration was designed towards been known as "Sarkin Muslimi" - king of the Muslims.

In trying to search out for the reason behind the contradiction in policy between the President of the NPC at the regional level, and the deputy-President of the party who was at the same time the Prime Minister of the nation, one has got also to analyse the place of both men and their assistants in the decision-making apparatus of their party. The NPC, as its name read, "Northern Peoples' Congress" was a party purely for Northerners.

The Southern politicians had consistently pressed for a change of the name and the opening up of the party to other Nigerians.[55] But the member of the NPC had alway refused. The relationship between the Northern region, on one hand, and the whole of Nigeria on the other, from Bello's conception, was portrayed in his speech, in which he said:"My collegues and I attach the greatest importance to Kaduna (the capital of Northern Nigeria). Not only is it our capital, containing our homes and our Ministries, but also it should be the commercial centre of the North ... It is here that the representative of the people come from time to time to attend the Legislature. It is here that the Chiefs, who provide guidiance to their Native Authority Council, also come to attend the Legislature and to attend conferences".[56]

This showed the great importance the President of the NPC placed on Kaduna as against Lagos which is the capital of Nigeria. Because of the higher emphasis placed on Kaduna than Lagos, one could rightly suspect that the NPC federal policies were formulated in Kaduna rather than in Lagos.

---

55. Obafemi Awolowo, Awo, Cambridge, 1960, p. 200.

56. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. 190.

In some cases, the regional capital of NPC, Kaduna, could be said to have formulated policies for the nation and even taken political decisions without consultation with their federal counterparts. The case of the Middle East policy of NPC and even the invitations to Nigeria which Ahmadu Bello extended to King of Saudi Arabia and to Nasser, the President of Egypt[57] were very clear examples of such discrepancies. Since, for Bello, the regional capital was of "greatest importance"[58] one can understand why he had considered the position of the Prime Minister of the nation as a delegated function, whereby his deputy-President, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, should owe him, as the source of the party policies, uncompromising submission.

Within the NPC party apparatus, the Central Working Committee (CWC) remained the undisputed policy-making organ of the party. The members in this committee owe their membership to the appointing benevolent spirit of Ahmadu Bello. The membership included:[59]

1. Ahmadu Bello himself as the President-General of the party and the Premier of Northern region.
2. Northern Cabinet Ministers.
3. The 5 Provincial Commissioners.
4. The Party Manager, Raji Abdablah.
5. The Party Principal Organizing Secretary Mohamadu King
6. and Mustafa Ismail.

---

57. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. 193.

58. Ibid., p. 190.

59. Dudley, op.cit., p. 130.

This committee of about 32 members formulated the policies which guided the party's political activities and, as we shall see, the nation Nigeria too.

The CWC of NPC, which Dudley said only rubber-stamped Ahmadu Bello's initiatives,[60] shared the Sardauna's anti-Israel Islamic zeal, and so decided for a concrete pro-Arab nations' stance.

Thereby, the religious relationship which Ahmadu Bello had maintained with the Islamic world of the Arabic State for a long time[61] was then supposed to be forced on the whole nation, irrespective of the wishes of the other regions.

The NPC federal Senator and Minister of State in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, made an interesting revelation which gave a clue to the reason for the seemingly "neutral attitude" of Nigeria towards Israel which was adopted by the NPC Prime Minister of Nigeria, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Alhaji Bamali tried to prove that the members of the NPC in the federal government were unaware of the anti-Israel decision of their party policy-making organ, since those legislators at the federal level were not allowed membership in this organ.

This was why it was possible for the Muslim Prime Minister to allow himself to be pressure by the Christian dominated coalition partners - NCNC, into maintaining a neutral attitude towards the Middle East problem between the Islamic Arabs and the Jews.

---

60. Dudley, ibid., p. 129.

61. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, pp. 190-193.

This major discordance in the foreign policy decision of the NPC acquired its zenith when the government of the Prime Minister accepted a loan from Israel on behalf of the federation. The loan, which was signed for by the Christian Minister of finance, Festus Okotic-Eboh, was immediately rejected by the Northern regional government. The Principal Organization Secretary of the NPC called on the federal government to withdraw its recognision of Israel which he said, was a tiny country subsidized by "the voluntary contributions from American Jews".[62] Faced with the fact that the federal government did not yield to the pressure of the anti-Israel sentiment, the government of the Northern region decided to forfeit any benefit which might accrue to her as a result of such loan, maintaining that it did not want to have any share of such money.

It was during the later tours of some Islamic and Arab states, - Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, United Arab Republic, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, that the Premier of Northern region, President-General of the NPC, and later, the Vice-President of the World Islamic League, Ahmadu Bello, exposed his political and religious dreams when he called for the creation of the confederation of Islamic states, of which he envisaged Nigeria as a member. He did not, of course, take into consideration the religions and beliefs of the more than 50 % other Nigerians who were non-Muslims.

---

62. Quoted in: A.B. Akinyemi, Foreign Policy and Federalism, Ibadan, 1974, p. 103.

As should be expected, the Southern Christians politicians reacted immediately against what the Daily Times newspaper referred to as an attempt to drag Nigeria into a "Confederation of Muslim States".[63]
The bitter opposition of the decision-making organ of the NPC did not hinder notable Christian politicians from maintaining friendly relationship with Israel in accordance to the federal government supposed neutral policies.

On the other hand, the warm welcome which the Christian ceremonial President of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe accorded the Israeli delegation to Nigeria, did not only show the sympathy the Christians had for Israel, but it, unfortunately, sparked off another political problem between the Muslim dominated NPC and the Christian NCNC.
Azikiwe, a candidate of the NCNC, was accused of taking side with his party and religion in a political issue. It was supposed that, as a ceremonial President of the nation, he should maintain a neutrality attitude in political questions. Ahmadu Bello considered the very warm welcome Azikiwe gave to the Israelis a sign of sympathy and acceptance.

The whole problem tended to show the extent of influence religious sympathy had, even, in the formulation of Nigeria's foreign policies. But of more importance is the whole disperity in the Middle East concept of the coalition government of NPC/NCNC as against the views of the decision-making organ of the NPC, as the senior coalition partner.
This disperity helped to expose, all the more, the extent of religious sentiments brought into play in the process of formulating the national and foreign policies for a multi-religious nation like Nigeria.

---

63. Daily Times, Editorial, No Sir Ahmadu! 28th June 1961.

This is why it would be necessary for us to examine the reactions and statements of some of the key actors in the whole issue.

While the Prime Minister, who represented the government of Nigeria, asserted the right of his government to maintain friendly relations with either Israel or any of the Arab states, thereby, not wanting "to be entangled into the quarell between the Jews and the Arabs",[64] his immediate party-boss, the Premier of the Northern region, Ahmadu Bello, went as far as disclaiming the existence of Israel which he later exposed when he said: " ... It will never exist".[65]

Ahmadu Bello gradually exhibited his strong spiritual and religious affection towards the Islamic Arab states when he later claimed that Jordan was his second home.

The Christian political leaders in the South represented by the Premiers of the Western region, S.L. Akintola, and that of the Eastern region, M.I. Okpara, reacted to Ahmadu Bello's Islamic anti-Israel zeal by stepping up their relationship with Israeli government.

Akintola assured the Israeli government of his support when he said: "You can be assured of our friendship and support at any place, and we promise never to withdraw this".[66]

The very fact of Akintola's visit to Israel and the political and commercial assurance given was, no doubt, aimed at contrasting the visits of Ahmadu Bello to Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and other Islamic nations, which he wanted

---

64. Akinyemi, op.cit., p. 103.

65. Daily Times, Sept. 1, 1965.

66. Ibid., 10th Oct. 1961.

to bring together under the umbrella of the "confederation of Muslim states" as reported by the Daily Times newspaper.[67] This announcement which was purportedly said to have been made by Ahmadu Bello on the occasion of his visit to Pakistan was, however, denied on his behalf by his party deputy-President who was also the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Tafawa Balewa.

The NPC organ and the government of the Northern region could not even be deemed correct in their defence of Ahmadu Bello's purported view. To say that Ahmadu Bello was rather campaigning for the cultural and spiritual unity of mind between the Islamic states rather than a confederation of Islamic nations, like his party claimed in his defence, is unrealistic. Ahmadu Bello's other political and religious utterances went further to contradict this defence.

The whole issue of Nigeria's relationship with Israel as against the NPC's anti-Israel stance which Ahmadu Bello stood for, would be said to have reached another complicating zenith when the Christian leader of the NCNC party, and Premier of the Eastern region, M.I. Okpara, made the bluffing statment about Israel. He said: " I myself am almost an Israelite. I love and admire Israel. I shall always go to Israel .... "[68] Not only did the Western and Eastern regions, which governments, were dominated by Christian, maintain a very friendly relationship with Israel, they also visited Israel and allowed her companies to undertake business projects in their regions, to the bitter anger of the Islamic government of the North.

---

67. Daily Times, Editorial - "No Sir Ahmadu", 29th June 1961.

68. West Africa, No. 3, 1962. This Israel sentiment of M.I. Okpara must have been influenced by the suspected and unproved hereditary ties between the Igbo and Israel. See chapter 2: The Origin of the Igbo. The statements were supposed to serve as a snob against Ahmadu Bello's Islamic zeal.

Although the Prime Minister warned that Nigeria should not allow itself to be drawn into the quarell of the Arabs and the Jews and that "it would be the end of happiness in this country when religion is brought into politics",[69] the Prime Minister could be said to have succumbed to the pressure from the anti-Israel and pro-Islamic religious sentiment of his party by refusing the establishment of an Israeli embassy in Nigeria. Granted that Tafawa Balewa did not totally condescend to the pressure of his party to end all financial transaction with Israel, as opinionated by Habib Raji Abdallah, the Principal Organizing Secretary of the NPC,[70] he could not be said to be totally unaffected by the Islamic anxiety of the other members of his party outside the federal government.

Judging from the views expressed by Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, that the discordance between the decisions of the NPC federal government members, as against that of the NPC regional government, in the envisaged relationship towards Israel and the Arab nations, was caused by the unawareness of the NPC members of the federal government of the strict anti-Israel and pro-Arab nations' policy of the decision-making organ of their party, one could be tempted to concluded, if not rightly assumed, that the "quasi-neutral" attitude towards Israel maintained by the Islamic NPC members of the federal Cabinet and Legislative Houses was a miscalculated mistake.

---

69. West African Pilot, Editorial, Is that NPC Policy? 17th June 1960.

70. Nigerian Citizen, 18th June 1960.

Obafemi Awolowo said that,"there was no doubt that the Northern region as at present constituted (under the leadership of autocrative Muslims who believe in the supremacy of Islam and the Muslims over any other being) is determined to bend the will of the federal government to its own and, if it can, to make the other regions live in permanent subordination to it".[71] This view could be said to have gained some authenticity when the attitude of Ahmadu Bello to the Israel-Arab issue is taken into consideration. Awolowo did not hide his contempt towards the system of government based on the Islamic world-views. He referred to the government of Egypt under Nasser, as totalitarian. He described those Islamic Arab nations which are physically and geographically situated in Africa as having one foot in Africa and the other in the Middle East. It was on this basis that he said, referring to Egypt, that "apart from the fact that her entire political heart is in the Arab world, she has never regarded herself as having any social and cultural affinity with the black races of Africa".[72]
Awolowo went on to say that, on the basis of Egypt's "territorial ambitions in Africa and the Moslem world, effective co-operation with Nasser, in any field at all, would only be possible only if the black races of Africa were prepared to remain as satelites in Egypt's orbit .... "[73]

---

71. Obafemi Awolowo, Awo ..., 1960, p. 200. (words in brackets are mine). Awolowo was the leader of the Action Group (AG).

72. Ibid., p. 312.

73. Ibid., p. 312.

This attack on Egypt and the other Muslim Arab countries of Africa by Awolowo should be seen within the perspective of the bitter opposition of Awolowo and many other Christian politicians to the political utterances and activities of Ahmadu Bello which were influenced by his Islamic zeal, and opposition to the support Bello received from those Islamic nations, especially, Egypt.[74]

But it must also be mentioned that the anti-Israel and pro-Arab states' sentiment of Ahmadu Bello and his party was not shared by all the Muslims in Nigeria, either in the Northern or the Southern parts. The Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) which was also a Northern political party dominated by Muslims was quick in condemning the nefacious attempt to make religion the criterion for political policies in Nigeria.[75]

It should also be noted that even Aminu Kano, who was also a Fulani aristocratic Muslim, went as far as criticizing the government of Nigeria and accusing her of bowing to the pressure from the Islamic Arab nations to take side with the Muslim countries: Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Marocco and Tunisia in the problem with Israel.[76]

---

74. Because of their common religion, and to a certain extent, because of their intoxicating zeal in the jihadic principle of Islam, Nasser and Ahmadu Bello found good friends in one another. It would be recalled that the Egyptian government showed their preferance for the Muslim Nigerians of the NPC when in 1962 a Nigerian delegation of educational Ministers made a stop-over in Egypt.While the federal and Northern Ministers of Education were invited to be the guest of the government, those of the East and West were ignored. See Akinyemi, op.cit., p. 103.

75. West African Pilot, 16th June 1960.

76. House of Representative Debates, March-May Session 1960, p. 411.

He did not hide his feeling against the NPC foreign policies which tended to concentrate Nigerian embassys in Muslim Arab nations while neglecting even some African nations.[77] This only go to show that not all the Muslims nor the Christians did share the view that religious affiliation should be allowed to be the measure of Nigeria's national policies.

7.5. Instrument of Religious Influence on Nigerian Politics

The amalgamation of the North and South into one country, Nigeria, succeeded in creating a central source of power for the whole nation. It did not, however, do much to change the system of political administration. Crowder put it most bluntly when he said that, "after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, the administrative distinction between the two was maintained".[78]
According to the 1952/53 census figures,[79] the adherents of

---

77. House of Representative Debates, August 1960, p. 84. Aminu Kano was formerly a member of the NPC, but he left the party because of the great influence the Islamic Emirs had on the party and the sympathy which the NPC in turn continued to show towards the despotic rule of the Emirs. He became the leader of NEPU.

78. Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 191.

79.

Religions	1952/53 census figures	
Traditional Religion	10.5 millions	33.8 %
Christianity	6.8 millions	21.9 %

The figures are for the whole Nigeria and not for the South alone. Source: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Landerbericht,Nigeria, 1972, op.cit., p. 15.

the Traditional religion were in the majority in the South. Their influence of the religion on the society should have been correspondingly greater.
To a certain extent, this could be said to be correct. But owing to the systems of the tradition political institutions of most societies in the South, the reverse was the case. The tolerant nature of the traditional society and the quick adaptable nature of some ethnic groups helped Christianity to gain a majority over the Traditional religion within ten years.[80]

The Southern chiefs, Obas and Obi, who were traditional rulers and custodians of their Traditional religion, were incapable of resisting the modernism which colonialism brought with it in the question of the relationship between religion and politics.

On their co-optation into the Native Authority by virtue of their office, they were forced by the influence of the Christian members of their society, who enjoyed the support of the colonial government via the Christian missionaries, to adopt a neutral course in the political administration.[81]

80.

Religions	1962/63 census figures	
Christianity	19.2/2.5 millions	34.6 %
Traditional Religion	10.1 millions	18.2 %

Source: Ibid., p. 15.

81. See Aynadele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, London, 1966.

The powers of the products of the missionaries expanded as the number of missionary schools increased and the membership to the religion improved.
The education expended by the missionary schools was seen as the source of intellectual, political and economic power. Between 1947 and 1960 the figure of primary school enrolment in the South had four times increased.

Year	No. of enrolment in Southern primary school[82]
1947	560,000
1951	895,000
1953	1,002,247
1955	1,591,o12
1957	2,242,004
1960	2,629,770

With education as a powerful and practicable instrument of religious propagation,[83] the missionaries succeeded in expounding their population so fast that they could strongly compare with the Muslims. Other instruments of propagation included the attracting of membership through the erection of social amenities and by the direct effort of older members to win non-members into accepting conversion. But it is interesting to see how these increases in membership were cashed upon to gain political influence for the religions.

82. Source: compiled from Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 245.

83. Fafunwa said that, "the primary objective of the early Christian missionaries was to convert the "heathen" or the benighted African to Christianity via Education". Fafunwa, ibid., p. 81. This opinion was a positive analysis of the missionary educational policies in Nigeria.

7.5.1. Government and the Churches in the East

By 1958, for example, 60 % of all the primary and secondary schools including the teachers' training colleges in the Eastern region were founded and ran by the Catholic Church.[84] The number of schools they controlled and the number of converts they were able to make through the aid of their expansionist educational policy made them strong enough to withstand even the government educational policies which they considered unfavourable to the Catholic faith.

But it would be interesting to examine the social and political conditions which made it possible for the Catholics to be strong enough to oppose the government. The missionaries, in general, through the use of the schools, completely neutralized the traditional politico-religious set-up.

This was why the missionaries were vehemently criticized for "their disregard of indigenous culture".[85]

In the guise of trying to displace Traditional religion, which the missionaries regarded as idolatry, some of the cultural values and tradition of very many areas of the South were castigated and rejected.

European cultural values in the guise of Chrstianity which were regarded as better were gradually and steadily infused into the society to take the place of the rejected traditional values.

---

84. Fafunwa, p. 171.

85. A.E. Afigbo, "The Missions, the State and Education in South-Eastern Nigeria", 1956-71, in Christianity in Independent Africa, Edited by E. Fasholé, R. Gray, A. Hastings and G. Taste, London, 1978, p. 182-186.

This phenomenon did not limit itself to the sphere of religion alone, but was extended to the political, social and economic activities of the people.[86]
The situation worsened when traditional rulers and elders, whose leadership role were based on religion and the cultural set-up, were dethroned and displaced by people who found favour with the missionaries and the colonial administration.[87]

Most areas of Igboland and the River areas had political organizations in which the elders were the political heads. The displacement of the elders and the consequent appointment of warrant chiefs was poorly challenged.[88]
With the incorporation of the "chieftaincy" into the "Native Authority system" of the modern government, the natural role which religion had played in the native administration, - legislation and jurisprudence, were readily displaced by the Europeanized customary courts of the warrant chiefs.[89]
By the late 1950 Christianity had spread through the areas of the South to be strong enough to dictate terms.

---

86. Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, p. 190. He considered Christianity the "official doctrine of the colonial master".

87. See Ayandele, Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, p. 8 ff. Ali Agorua (Univ. Jos) gave an example of the situation which he said occurred to his great grand-father, Agkpati Nzeribe. He said Akpati Nzeribe was made a chief only on condition he became a Christian. Rightful candidates for the chieftaincy were displaced because they were no Christians.

88. Cf. Okwudiba Nnoli, Ethnic Politics in Nigeria, Enugu, Nigeria, 1980. Also A.E. Afigbo, The Warrant Chiefs, London, 1972, pp. 59-77.

89. See Crowder, op.cit., pp. 189-190. Also Elizabeth Isichei, The History of the Igbo People, pp. 143-150. Isichei elaborated on the origin of chieftaincy in Igboland and the repercution it had on the society. See also A.E. Afigbo, p. 59 ff.,

The case was more pronounced in the Eastern areas where there were not many other strong oppositon in the form of a centralized traditional Obas, chiefs, or even Islam as in the West.

Christianity had so much overtaken Traditional religion politically, socially and economically that it was no longer considered a challenge. Many schools were built by the various denominations. And through these schools, converts were automatically acquired. The scramble for areas of influence among the various denominations created room for rivalry.[90] The Catholics and the Protestants, who controlled the organs of administration and politics, then entered into a hiden "religious cold war" of trying to influence political policies.

Mackenzie and Robinson reported that, "on 3. January 1957, all the Roman Catholic members of Enugu Municipal Council walked out of the Council chamber in protest, after the Financial Committee's recommendation that all primary schools in Enugu should be maintained by the Municipal Council had been passed by thirteen votes to twelve.

(It is interesting to note that the relgious composition of Enugu Municipal Council, which has since been suspended, is 12 Protestants, 12 Raman Catholics and 1 Muslim - the NCNC Major, who has a casting vote)".[91]

Such political problems motivated by religion was not an isolated case. Many cases of such political rangling and suspicion motivated by fear of religious repression, or the desire

---

90. Elechi had already examined the rivalry which developed between the various missionary groups at their early stages - 1857-1914 in Igboland. See F.K. Elechi, Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1857-1914, London, 1971.

91. W.J.M. Mackenzie and Kenneth E. Robinson, Five Elections in Africa, Oxford, 1966, pp. 111-112.

to curb the influence of a religion, abound through the history of politics in Nigeria. That people belong to the same political party or the same ethnic group or town was, sometimes, not called into question in such religious wrangles.

The protection of one's religion, or the desire to enhance the political position of ones religion constituted the principal objective in such cases. But at time, the so-called "fight for one's religion", were only cover-ups used by some members of religious groups to attain their personal political ambitions. At time still, it was the genuine interest of some members of a religion to protect the political interest of their group. A case of such situation in which these examples were exposed, was seen in the views expressed by the members of the Catholics in the East. They claimed their members were not represented in the sharing out of the sensitive posts within the NCNC, whereas those who voted for the NCNC were mostly Catholics.[92] Mackenzie and Robinson reported that after the meeting of Catholic Bishops of Onitsha Archdiocese on January 23, 1957 to discuss the policy of the government which affected the

---

92. Mackenzie and Robinson, p. 112. See also C.M. Cook, Church, State and Education: The Eastern Nigerian Experience, 1950-67, in:Christianity and Independence in Africa, p. 198.

Sklar also reported that, " Catholic leaders concluded that their Church interest were not properly respected because Catholic representation in the government was not proportionate to Catholic strength in the Eastern Region or in the NCNC." Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, pp. 187-188.

the Church,[93] rumours were immediately circulated that,"the Roman Catholic Mission had decided to contest the election against the NCNC. ..."[94] Although the Catholics did not want to contest the election with the NCNC, but judging from their attitude towards the unfavourable policy of the government, there was no reason to doubt that they desired to influence the election and so the policy of government. The advice to the Catholics that they should vote only for "God-fearing capable men and women who will defend the right of parents to train their children according to their beliefs",[95] could be interpreted to have been expressed to achieve this aim.

---

93. The problem in question was about the Universal Primary Education programms which the government of Eastern Nigeria wanted to embark upon in 1957, and the policy statement released on August 17, 1956 to this regard. The policy, if it had been allowed to go through in 1957, it would have led to phasing out the right of the missionaries to build new schools. It would have also denied the religious organizations the right to compulsorily give religious instructions to the children enrolled in the schools which they controlled. It would have denied the Churches the right to control the teachers who were posted to the mission institutions. The Catholics were vehemently against the policy. Cf. Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, pp. 170-172. See also Mackenzie and Robinson, pp. 111-113. Also Cook, pp. 198-204.

94. Mackenzie and Robinson, p. 112.

95. Mackenzie and Robinson, p. 112. The statement was accredited to Mr. J. Anyansi, the chairman of the Eastern Nigerian Catholic Council.

The instrument of religious influence on political policies is, thus, clearly exposed in the above described situations. The more members religious groups could gain for their faith, the greater were their chances of influencing political policies, it could be said. No wonder, the protestants were determined to block up the chances of Catholic expansionism, whereby the Catholics founded many schools with the aim of "effecting the mass conversion of children and maybe their parents" to their religion, as they were accused of.[96]

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Eastern Nigeria, which had fewer school in the region, in comparison with the Catholic Mission which controlled 60 % of all the schools, decided to stop this Catholic expansionism through the schools by giving up their own chances of using the school to expand their number. The CMS, in October 1956, issued a press release in which they said: "We, in the past, in common with other Churches have used our schools as one means of spreading that Christian Faith which we believe to be the true way of life for all.
We shall naturally be sorry to see those particular opportunities restricted in future, but we recognise that when education is provided universally at public expense the Churches cannot claim to continue to control nearly all the schools. ... "[97]

---

96. Cf. Afigbo,"The Missions, the State and Education in South-Eastern Nigeria", 1956-1971, pp. 177-186.

97. Niger Diocese Educational Policy, October 1956, in: Fafunwa, p. 171.

By supporting the government policy on education which the Catholic Missions rejected, the CMS thought that the chances of the Catholics expanding their political potentialities which had, hitherto, been generated through the converts made in the schools would be stopped.

7.5.2. Politics in Western Region and the Problems of the Religions

Unlike in the East where the problems which characterized the politics there till 1960 was based on the struggle for more political influence between two denominations of the same Christian religion, the problem in the West was rather between the three different religions - Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion.
The situation in the West between 1914 and 1960 was rather perculiar because of the sound support which each of the three religions enjoyed as a result of their nearly equally population.

Population according to religions in Western region 1957 [98]

Religions	No. of adherents
Christians	2,201,000
Muslims	1,971,000
Traditional regligion	1,931,000

98. Source: Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, chapter 2, Art. 18, p. 11. (Document to be quoted as "Report on Min. fears").

Like in the East, each of the religions tried to convert the number of its members into political advantages. The more the number of the adherents of a religion increased, the greater was her chance of been able to influence the politics of the region.
As usual, the undercover instrument of achieving this aim was to try to gain as much converts as possible through the erection of schools and social amenities which would attract followship. Because the Traditional religion is not an expansionist religion, it was easy for Islam and Christianity to overshadow the Traditional religion in the struggle for political leadership. But, unlike in the East where there were not many centralized traditional chieftaincy systems before colonialism, the West had the chiefs and Obas who helped conserve and defend the role of Traditional religion in government policy-making machinery.

In order, however, to curb any unhealthy interference of religion into politics, the Action Group (AG)[99] "... envisages the gradual reduction of (the) authority ... "[100] of the traditional rulers in order to make them "become accustomed to the machinery of democratic government".[101]
With such reduction in the authorities of the traditional rulers, the use of the traditional powers of those chiefs as an instrument of religious influence on politics was, thus,

---

99. That was the major political party which existed in the Western region. It was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

100. Report on Min. fears, p. 11.

101. Report on Min. fears, p. 11.

reduced.[102] The seemingly amicable atmosphere, in terms of religious tolerance in the West led the commission enquiring into the fears of the minorities to say: "the Muslims of the Western Region differ from the Muslims of the North in that although they have accepted the Koran and Koranic confession of faith, they have not accepted the Koranic way of life, in particular they do not observe the Purdah for their women and the Shari'a law. This had meant that it has been much more possible for Muslims and Christians to live amicably together in the same family and partners in the same enterprises".[103]

Even Muslims who described the policies of the government of Western region as been influenced by the Christian religion, did not claim to be speaking for the whole Muslims since "they were clearly divided not only political, as to the wisdom of supporting the Action Group, (the party in government), but also on religious matters, ... "[104]

That was why the Muslim, Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu,[105] could not gain the support of the whole Muslims to his political party, even though he projected himself to be fighting for

---

102. It is, sometimes, very hard to agree that the Action Group government harrassed the chiefs because of the ernest desire for a democratic politics, or really to curb the influence of religion on politics. It was easier to admit that the activities of the chiefs and Obas would be tolerated to any extent in so far as it was advantageous to the political party-AG. Otherwise, an erring Oba could have received the same treatment like the Alafin of Oyo who was deposed by the government in 1956. See Mackintosh, The Action Group crisis of 1962,in: Political Studies, Vo. XI, No. 2, 1963, p. 129.

103. Report on Min. fears, chapter 3, Art. 50, p. 26.

104. Ibid., Art. 51, p. 26.

105. Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu was a member of the NCNC party. He was killed in a mysterious motor accident in 1958.

the rights of the Muslims in Western region.[106]
The suspicion that Adelabu wanted to form a Musilm political party to counterbalance the activities of the Christian dominated Action Group, only go to show the rate of influence religion had on the politics of Western region.[107]
Like in other parts of the South of Nigeria, to be educated grew to become the required prerequisite for securing a place in the modern politics.
Since most of the educational institutions were ran by Christian missionaries, there was no reason to wonder why most of the more educated people who occupied sensitive political positions were Christians.

Knowing that the Christian missionaries used their schools and social institutions also as an instrument of gaining followship, many Muslims avoided such institutions.[108]
Consequently, with only few alternatives left to the Muslims, many of them remained uneducated, when compared with the rate of uneducated Christians. The Christian sponsored educations, thus, created for the Christians better opportunities of occupying political offices which required Western literary education.

---

106. See Mackenzie and Kenneth E. Robinson, Five Elections in Africa, p. 25.
107. Report on Min. fears, p. 11.

108. Fafunwa, pp. 71-72. Fafunwa wrote that, "the Muslim leaders and many of their followers rightly sensed the motives of the Christian Missions and therefore opposed Christian-orientated education for their children. The Muslims knew as far back as the 1840s that if their children went to Christian schools they would return home as Christians ... When the Christian Missions started converting animists (Traditional religion worshippers) and a few Muslims, the majority of Muslim parents barred their children from attending the free Christian schools for the fear of conversion". ibid., pp. 71-72. (words in brackets are mine)

It was the conscious attempt to attain an equilibrum with the Christians that motivated some of the Muslims in the West to group themselves together under such associations as National Emancipation League, National Muslim League and United Muslim Party.

Whether in the form of political parties,[109] or in the form of philanthropic organizations,[110] the aims of the Muslims were to come together and form a political force which could see that the members of their religion were politically represented in the government. In order to achieve this aim in the long run, they saw the erection of more schools for their children as the immediate solution. The association of the proprietors of Muslim schools were formed. This group, in collusion with the Muslim League,expressed the feeling that, "the government was discriminatory in its provision of fund for Muslim schools and secondly that it had discouraged or prevented the teaching of Arabic in schools and made insufficient allowance for Koranic instruction".[111]

There were no major reactions against the intention of the Muslims to found their own schools and support the education of their members. The core of the problem, however, was the formation of the Muslim League[112] in 1957 as a political party with a religious undertone and intention.

---

109. One of the political party which was founded purely on religious bases was in the Western region.

110. The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, Ahmaddija Movement, Zumratul islamiyya and Jamaatul Islamiyya, are some of the Islamic philanthropic organisations whose aims included the enhancement of the educational opportunities for Muslims. Fafunwa, p. 72.

111. Report on Min. fears, pp. 26-27.

112. The party was founded by Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu.

In condemnation of such religious motivated political associations, the Premier of Western region issued a statement deploring the attitude of those responsible for the formation of such associations or political party.
He said, "it is absolutely intolerable - indeed unthinkable - for a group of co-religionists to essay to get themselves into power so that they might lord it over those who do not belong to their faith. It is an indirect means of destroying freedom of religion and coercing those of different religions to embrace the faith of the party in power. It is for all these reasons that we of the Action Group, Muslims, Christians and others, must leave no stone unturned to combat what is really a diabolical threat to peace and tranquility of this country, and a calculated assault on the freedom of religion".[113]

One could not rule out the fact that one religion or the other could find itself in a disadvantageous position if the decision-making organs were monopolized by adherents of a particular religion in a multi-religious society. This could not be said to be the case in Western region since by 1957, there were as well very many well places Muslims just like the Christians. What one should not, however rule out was the wittiness of unscrupulous elements to capitalize on the religious differences of the society in an attempt to achieve for themselves goals which could be said to be unrelated to their religions.

While the concern of the Muslims, in relation to the politics of Western region, was frank and open to discussion, the surreptitious activities of the Ogboni cult which existed in

---

113. Speech made by the Premier of Western Region on the 12th October 1957, Daily Service Newspaper, quoted in: Report on Min. fears, chapter 3, Art. 52, p. 26.

the region is still shrouded with a certain amount of secrecy which leave room only to speculative guesses.
The Ogboni secret society had occupied an important place in the traditional Yoruba political administration. It was a religious cult which played the role of overseeing the activities of the Obas in their relationship with their peoples. To the Egba and the Ijebu Yourba, the Ogboni society was a form of senate which had the powers to try cases and punish criminals.[114]

Before the advent of European "civilisation" into the society, only people of honourable character were allowed membership into the Ogboni society. With the advent of Christianity and the consequent impact of "Western civilization", the modern Yoruba Christians found in the Ogboni society a traditional equivalent of freemasonry.
As part of the acculturizing process of Christianity into the traditional culture of the people, some Christian Churches acculturized aspects of Nigerian culture into their Christian rituals, or some Christian rituals were adapted to appear in the traditional cultural form. Those Christians who found nothing against freemasonry, readily transformed the Ogboni society into the equivalent of this association as a means of curbing the influence of the foreign freemasonry.
Rev. T.A.J. Ogunbiyi,[115] was responsible for "christianizing" the Ogboni society which he named "Christian Ogboni Society".[116]

---

114. Cf. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, pp. 266-274.

115. Ogunbiyi was a CMS clergyman and at the same time a politician who had held many political appointments. He was also one of the fifty representatives who were called upon to review the Richard's constitution in 1950.

116. Ayandele, pp. 270-274.

Had the Ogboni society remained just a religious organization, the case would have remained only on the level of judging whether it was morally right or wrong for a Christian to be a member of such an organization which had its origin in the Traditional religion. The Ogboni society and its members who turned out to be, in most cases, the elites of the society - some clergymen, politicians and some educated few, and the very rich ones, threw their weight into influencing the political activities of the region. The society was known to have allied itself, in some cases, with a particular political party and was responsible for the sharing out of sensitive political offices among its members.[117]

Under such conditions, even members of Christian denominations who, by virtue of their Church's doctrine, could not associate themselves with the Ogboni society, were as such deprieved of political chances, or were forced by the equation of the circumstance to support an opposite party.

7.5.3. Instruments of Religious Influence on Politics before Independence in Northern Nigeria

In the relationship between the official politics and religion in Northern Nigeria, the policy seemed more complicated than one may want to believe. It was clear that the role of Islam in politics in the region was not allowed to be the subject of any compromise. With the dubious protection which the religion received in the hand of the British colonial administration, and its consequent co-option into the modern colonial administrative system, Islam had every ground upon which it could easily spread out its tentacles.

---

117. Cf. Report on Min. fears, p. 10,15.

As we had seen before, the Sultan and Emirs who administered the extreme Northern provinces of the region were not just political rulers, but were also religious heads of the Islamic communities. After their powers had been re-confirmed by Lugard in 1903, when he gave them the authority to rule "as of old time", maintaining their taxation system and, of course, the Islamic legal system,[118] the Emirs thereby gained all the political powers which they needed to expand their Islamic rules to even those territories, which remained untouched by Islam or the Islamic jihad before colonialism. Because of the advantage which the Islamic religion served for the colonial administrators, Hiskett reported that some of the non-Muslim rulers of non-Muslim areas were even compulsorily encouraged by the colonial administrators to become Muslims.[119] In other areas, Islamic Emirs or chiefs were imposed on non-Islamic areas.[120]

In trying to justify the imposition of Muslim chiefs or Emirs on non-Muslim areas, Donald Cameron, who was the Governor between 1931-1935, gave as his reason that the Muslim Fulanis "had conquered them to the extent that they had, as against other raiding chiefs, been strong enough to make a preserve of a particular pagan country for the purpose of slave raiding".[121]

---

118. See Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., p. 13.

119. Cf. Mervyn Hiskett, The Development of Islam in West Africa, London and New York, 1984, p. 281.

120. Hiskett, p. 281.

121. Donald Cameron, in: A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), The Principles of Native Administration, Selected Documents, 1900-1947, London, 1965, p. 195.

All these measures taken by the colonial government helped in the rapid spread of Islam in the areas of the Northern region. That is why Professor Elaigwu, in distinguishing Islam from Christianity, said that Islam used commerce, cultural imperialism and absolute conquest as her instruments of political and religious expansionism. Unlike Christianity which expands through the "Trinity" - Bible, commerce and the flag.[122]

Such conquest could be examplified when one takes into consideration that in the Tiv areas, South of the Northern region, whose people are mainly Christians and Traditional religion worshippers,but they were forced to tolerate a Muslim Yoruba, Audu Dan Afoda,as the Chief of Markurdi.[123] The situation could, perhaps, have been more tolerable if the chief was a Muslim Tiv. But the affront was the imposition of a non-indigene as a traditional chief of a people, just because of his religious creed. This was a clear example that Nigerian politics was not dictated by "tribalism" alone but also by religion.

It was also the same, in another case in Jos, where the people were mainly non-Muslims. Until 1952, they had to content themselves with an imposed Muslim, Magajin Gari, as head of their Native Authority ruler.[124]

Another specific example of such case, was that of the Tor of Tiv, who was the relative of one of the Hausa/Fulani Emirs.[125]

---

122. Professor I. Elaigwu, Univ. Jos, (personal Interview, December 18, 1984).

123. Cf. Okwudiby Nnoli, Ethnic Politics, p. 237.

124. Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., p. 77.

125. See Nnoli, p. 237.

Inspite of the fact that most of the natives were either Christians or Traditional religion worshippers, he was imposed on them.[126]

Each of these religio-political emissaries had also among other political duties, a particular primary objective: - the spread of Islam.[127]

The more the people were converted to Islam, the more submissive they would be to the Sultan of Sokoto, who remained the spiritual and political head of all the Muslims in the territory.

Within the Islamic system, an unreserved subservience is demanded of all the Muslims to the Islamic royal authority. In order, then, to gain a most effective centralized political administration, "Islamization" was the best option which the British colonial administrators encouraged.[128]

Not only did the chiefs appointed to head Native Authorities owe unquestionable submission to the Emirs,[129] even those politicians who found their way into the Legislative and Executive Councils of the regional and national government had to submit themselves to the political and religious will

---

126. See Report on Min. fears, Part. IV, Chapter 9, p. 58.

127. Cf. Report on MIn. fears, pp. 59-61.

128. Hiskett, p. 281. See also Report on Min fears, p. 65. This also explained the "Convertion tours" which the Premier, Ahmadu Bello, later undertook. Cf. I. Gambari, p. 95.

129. This corresponded with the information given by Alhaji Sarki Waziri, the Secretary to the Emir of Kano. In the Emirs palace, was seen scores of Islamic dignitaries whom he described as District heads. He said, the District heads were called into the Emirs palace for some political and religious instructions. (Kano, Dec. 20, 1984.)

of the Emirs.[130]
This was made possible by the tight control which the Emirs exerted on the Native Authority system.

The Emirs, as the sole head of the emirate, was responsible for organizing his emirate's "Native Authorities" into which he appointed chiefs who headed them. The chief or Emir was not bounded by the advice of his Native Authority Council and could override their decisions.[131] An Emir demaned from each of his subordinates an uncompromising submission to the "status quo" of the emirate system. Anyone who had reformative ideas which was considered would weaken the grip of the Emir on the emirate, was brutal forced into order with the aid of the British colonial authorities.[132]
This was among the reasons why Christianity was regarded with suspicion. The Emirs rightly guessed that any Christian sermon on "the equality of all men" would weaken their religious and political powers.

---

130. See Okwudiba Nnoli, Ethnic Politics ..., pp. 130-132. Nnoli traced the submissive attitude of the modern Muslim politicians to their Emirs as originating from the theocratic and authocratic nature of their home society. Dudley noted the roles of the Emir of Katsina and the Sultan of Sokoto in the control of Nigeria's most powerful party, the NPC, which was led by Premier Ahmadu Bello, the great grandson of the leader of the Islamic jihad. Malam D.A. Raffin, the NPC party manager, said that the Premier has as his major objective, not to become a president of Nigeria, but to become "the spiritual leader of the Moslem North", Daily Service, Sept. 28, 1957, p.2.

131. Dudley, Parties and Politics ..., pp. 14-16.

132. Dudley, pp. 75, 83.

The Emir of Kano expressed such similar view in his letter to E.D. Morel, when he said: "Know that as regards the preaching (of Christianity) which we discussed here, my opinion is that it is better to stop it altogether from the first - because, if our people are disturbed about their religion (Islam) they will become suspicious and afraid, Hence the Country will become unsettled".[133]
Christianity, the Emir suspected, would make the subordinates non-submissive to the autocratic rules of the Emirs.

In order to avoid an unsettled situation, all had to be forced to remain within the Islamic moral order of unquestionable obedience. That was why most of those who headed the Native Authorities were, either relations of the Emirs, or aristocratic Hausa/Fulani Muslims, who owed their offices to the benevolent spirit of the Emirs.[134]
With the introduction of elective principle in the whole country by Macpherson's constitution of 1951, one would have expected that the Islamic authorities would have lost their firm grip over the region in the democratic process. Unfortunately or fortunately, that was not the case. A way out was easily found.

---

133. E.D. Morel, Nigeria: Its People and Its Problems, London, 1912, p. 135.

134. See also Dudley, pp. 70, 107. Dudley noted that, "one of the few exceptions to the practice of appointing Hausa-Fulanis to position of authority was that of M. Abubakar Gardu, a Junkun of Wukari who held the office of Treasurer of the Wukari N.A. from 1922-52. His appointment,however, was due largerly to the pressure from the Sudan United Mission (SUM)". Annual Report, 1952, p. 5, in: Dudley, ibid., p. 107.

Already, the members of the Islamic royal families had started stabilizing themselves and their relations into the new political structures. They made sure the 1951 Macpherson's constitution gave provision for the Native Authority members, who were dominantly the Hausa/Fulani Muslims, to be fixed in as candidates for election into the Legislative Houses at the final stages of the election.[135]
That made it possible for members of the Native Authorities, who were not elected in the primary electoral colleges, to find their way into the Legislative Houses.
In many cases, the Emirs appointed those to contest such election.[136] Under such a situation, the elected candidates could not be said to be, in any way, responsible to their peoples, but to the religious leaders who could also displace them,in case they prove insubordinate.

Under Ahmadu Bello, as leader of the NPC and the Premier of the Northern region, the influence of religion on politics became more complicated and elaborate.
As a devout Muslim and a descendant of the leader of the Muslim jihad, Othman dan Fodio, he saw his role in Northern Nigeria and in Nigeria as a whole, as the handwork of God, in the sense of consolidating on the gains which his ancestor had made.[137]

---

135. B.O. Nwabueze, A Constitution History of Nigeria, p. 48.

136. Cf. Dudley, p. 147. Dudley noted that candidates for election could be rejected by the Emirs while the former Emir of Kano, Sanusi for example, presented his choice.

137. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. VIII.
In order to show the weight of Ahmadu political personality, Peil ponited out that, "Sir Ahmadu Bello ... claimed religious and secular leadership."
Margaret Peil, Nigerian Politics, London, 1976, p. 166.

In collusion with the Emirs, other members of aristocratic class, and members of the royal families, Ahmadu Bello made the most effective use of the Native Authority system in the spread of Islam. Inspite of the motto of the party which reads: "One North: One people irrespective of Religion, Rank or Tribe", there was no reason to doubt, that not only was the NPC highly influenced by the Islamic leaders,[138] but it was also a party, in which some of its members were avowed to perpetuating the rule of the Hausa/Fulani royal families [139] in the North, and if possible, in Nigeria. On analysing the composition of the NPC and its representation in the Legislative Houses in the period between 1959 to 1964, Patrick Ollawa found out that:[140]

1. 25 % or 19 % of the 134 NPC federal parliamentarians were sons of the ruling Emirs.
2. 34 % of federal parliamentarians were from the families of the Islamic traditional rulers.
3. 6 % of the rest were related by marriage to the traditional rulers.
4. 17 % of the rest came from the aristocratic families who were at the service of the Emirs.
5. The rest were former functionaries of the Native Authority.

---

138. With time especially after independence the party grew to start accommodating people of other religions into positions of importance in the party.

139. Because Alhaji Jamilu Dantata, who represented Kano East on the platform of the AG party, did not come from the aristocratic Fulani royal families of the North, he saw no substantial chances for himself in the NPC party. It was he who complained that Bello's NPC autocratic rule in the North was resulted in the mass changes of the North Muslims to Christians because they feared the Muslim laws. Daily Service, Dec. 5, 1959, p. 5.

140. Ollawa, Demokratie und nationale ..., 1972, p. 336.

This analysis gives an insight into the role the religious authority was allowed to play in the political apparatus of the region, and from there, into the Federation.
Inspite of Ahmadu Bello's statements which read: "I want to emphasize two things. Firstly our government is a government of Northerners, both Moslems and Christians: we wish to allow all men to practise their religions as they wish".[141]
Not very much of such religious freedom could be said to have been allowed, judging from the fact, that non-Muslim rulers or political candidated were subjected to some form of pressure to become Muslims in order to enhance their political position.[142]
And it was not uncommon to hear complaints by Christian missionaries that they were denied lands to build their schools or Churches.[143]
The legal system which was in use in the North before the Nigerian independence in 1960 was another formidable instrument of religious influence in politics. The Alkali courts, which administered justice based on Islamic laws, was made to live along with the ordinary law courts.

---

141. Speech made by the Premier to the representatives of the Protestant missions in Jos on 22nd Nov. 1958, and the Catholic hierarchy in Kaduna, quoted in: Edmund P.T. Crampton, Christianity in Northern Nigeria, in Ogbu Kalu (ed.), The Nigerian Story, Ibadan, 1978, p. 87. See also Daily Times, Nov. 17, 1958, p. 3.

142. Report on Min. fears, pp. 55-57. Also see Crampton, pp. 88-96.

143. See Ngwoke, Religion and Religious Liberty in Nigerian Law, Rome, 1984, pp. 53-56.

The problem was not the question of the existence of both courts, but that non-Muslims were brought before these Alkali courts and subjected to Islamic laws.[144] Since in the Islamic law, "the evidence of a male Muslim is of greater value than that of a woman, a Christian or a pagan",this made the Muslims in the region legally and political superior to the non-Muslims.[145]

Unlike in the South where the Christian missionaries made effective use of schools in obtaining their converts who,later on, became political policy-makers in the regional and national politics, this opportunity was not very much open to the Christians in the North.

The Northern Muslims instead used the same method in accumulating for themselves pupils and students who later became Muslims. Crampton also noted that, a "pagan" child that went through a Native Administration school in an emirate came not only to Islam, but to think of himself as a "Hausa or Fulani".[146]

---

144. Report on Min. fears, part IV, chapter 10, pp. 66-71. See also Crampton, p. 87. Crampton noted that before, in theory at least, and sometimes in practice, Muslims has been favoured in the Native courts and non-Muslims were worried about this as British departure became imminent. See also Azikiwe, Essentials for Nigerian survival, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 43, No. 3, 1965, p. 453.

145. Report on Min. fears, p. 67.

146. Crampton, p. 88.

Maybe, this may correspond to what Prof. Elaigwu referred to as cultural imperialism of the Islamic religion in the North.[147]

147. Prof. Eliagwu, Personal Interview, 18th August 1984. Dr. Sunday Ochoche had a similar story to tell when he said that as boarders in the secondary school, they were forced to wear the "Kapitan", an Hausa/Fulani style of dress, as school uniform and were given "Tuwo" as meal. All these, he commented, should not have been necessary for a school which is in Tivland if it were not a way of trying to assert the Islamic way of life on the students. (personal interview, Jos 18. Dec. 84.)

CHAPTER EIGHT

8. TOWARDS A HEALTHY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA

The reassurance given to the Catholic and Protestant missions in Northern Nigeria by the then Premier, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, that the government was neither an Islamic or Christian government, promising that his government would guarantee the right of all to their beliefs, came as a reliefing message to those concerned.[1]
But, just as the Premier added, when he said: "I know that there can be difficulties in areas where the rulers are Moslems and the bulk of the people are not: ..."[2], it showed that he was not unaware of the devastating role religious differences and influences could play in disorganizing the political society.

It was also in an attempt to tackle the same sort of problem that the Premier of the Western region, Obafemi Awolowo, charged at those who founded a religious political party in the region. He saw in such an act "an indirect means of destroying freedom of religion and coercing those of different religions to embrace the faith of the party in power".[3]

---

1. See Crampton, pp. 82-84. Also see Daily Times, Nov. 17, 1958, p. 3.

2. Quoted in: Crampton, ibid., p. 88.

3. Quoted from: Report on Min. fears, p. 26.

Awolowo insisted that, "the Muslims, Christians and others must leave no stone unturned to combat what is really a diabolic threat to the peace and tranquility of this counctry, and a calculated assault on the freedom of religion".[4]

When we take into consideration that the situation was not even better in the Eastern region where the Catholics were suspected of trying to form a political party of their own to challenge Nnamdi Azikiwe's NCNC, which they felt was dominated by Protestants,[5] we shall then have no reason to doubt, that religion had played a substantial role in Nigerian politics, but at time, a divisive role too.

It is interesting, however, to learn that in each case, where the political set-up was confronted with such problems based on religious differences, they quickliy acted to seek a solution. The Premier of the West talked of the freedom of religion. That of the North called his government, the government of the Northerners and not that of Islam or Christianity. The Eastern regional government was worried to save the children who they felt were forced to attend religious instruction classes which they would not have freely done. One can then conclude that, inspite of the interest of the various governments to admit of the influence of religion in politics, they, at least, admitted that religion should not be allowed to be the basis of politics in a pluralistic society like Nigeria. One can also see that, if it was maintained, as a commitment to the freedom of religion or religious liberty.

---

4. Report on Min. fears, p. 26.

5. Cf. Mackenzie and Robinson, pp. 111-113, 146-150.

8.1. Freedom of Religion

Could one really talk of freedom of religion in Nigeria between 1914 and 1960?
While this question can be answered with some degrees of affirmation, some reservations have to be added.
We assume that, except for the children and people who were born into a particular religion, others embraced their religion by a free decision. Agreeing that free decisions are those decisions "about one's own nature and existence in the sense of a personally response and conscious direction to what has been recognized as being morally valuable and appropriate, and what is, therefore striven for as such".[6] That gives anybody embracing a particular religion the right to weigh the morality and appropriety of the one's decision. When the decision for joining a religious group is not as a result of any form of coercion: - political, economical, legal, or physical force, one can then agree that such decision is a free decision.
Such free decision needed also to be the result of one's freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience is defined by Murray as "the human and civil right of the human person to immunity from all external coercion in his search for God, in the investigation of religious truth, in the acceptance or rejection of religious faith, in living his interior religious life".[7]

---

6. Berhard Stoeckle (ed.), Concise Dictionary of Christian Ethics, London, 1975, pp. 107-112.

7. John C. Murray, The Problem of Religious Freedom, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1965, p. 24.

That would mean that the one who may be a member of a religious community should be allowed the free choice of following the directives of the one's conscience without being succumbed to the threat of losing the one's natural and legal rights

When such a situation obtains in any political society, one can then say that there exists religious freedom. Heinz Robert Schlette defined religious freedom as "the right of man, as a person, to decide freely for or against religion, to express freely his mind on religious matters, for or against, or to confess it openly by worship, propaganda, educational efforts and so on.".[8]

In a society in which such freedom does not exist, one can only talk of freedom with some reservations.

A protectionist attitude by some religious groups against the influence of another religion has been an age long problem. But can one talk of religious freedom when the protectionist attitude of a group receives the blessing of the legal sanctions of the state to the disadvantage of the other religions? No, should be the answer, if such new religion does not constitute in itself a danger to the natural freedom of other members of the state. Jacques Maritain said that, "with respect to God and the truth one has the right to choose according to his own whim any path whatsoever, he must choose the true path in so far it is in his own power to know it.

---

8. Heiz Robert Schlette, "Religious Freedom", in: Karl Rahner (ed.), Encyclopedia of Theology, London, 1975, pp. 1357-1362.

But with respect to the State, to the temporal community and the temporal power, he is free to choose his religious path at his own risk, ... If this religious path goes so far afield that it leads to acts repugnant to natural law and security of the State, the latter has the right to interdict and apply sanctions against these acts".[9]
That goes to point out that freedom of the choice of a religion or any religious practised in the state or community could also be determined in terms of the physical repercusion it has on those who practise them.
That means also, the religion should be seen to constitute a risk to the physical existence or the right of others.
A religion which shows itself to be repugnent to natural law, and which endangers the life and property of a second party is a contradiction in itself.

All these various definitions come under the notion that all should be free to practise their religion, but, in so far such freedom does not deny the others their intrinsic rights and the conditions needed for freedom.
This makes it possible for one to express one's belief in the form of ritual worship, and the public or private exposition of one's item of worship. Freedom to erect for oneself a place of worship, freedom to form religious associations for the purpose of public or private worship. Freedom to carry out social works based on one's religious belief. Freedom to express one's moral views within the perspective of one's religious view.

---

9. Jaques Maritain, The Rights of Man and Natural Law, New York, 1971, pp. 81-82.

All these sets of freedom can only be possible if such freedom limits itself within the boundaries of respecting the overall freedom and rights of other and that of the incorporative body, the society as the norms of natural law demand.

8.2. Religious Freedom in Nigerian Political Society

The peoples who inhabited the territories of Nigeria until the incursion of Islam and Christianity had all practiced the Traditional religion. Like other religious worshippers who enjoyed the monology of their regions or areas, our forefathers who were Traditional religious worshippers were also victims of the protectionist tendencies of religion. Islamic and Christian missionaries were looked upon with suspicion at the initial stages. In many areas, however, our forefathers showed themselves to be one of the best examples of those who respect the religious liberty of all men. They did not only tolerate the new religions, but they accommodated them and even allowed their children to be converted into them.[10]

In many areas of the Northern region, the itinerant Islamic teachers were given places to stay. They were joyfully accommodated in the palaces of the kings.

---

10. This is why Iwe is correct when he said that, "the traditional practice of religion has in general been characterized by religious liberty and freedom from persecution and from discriminations of a prejudicial nature". Rev. D. N.N.S. Iwe, Problem of Colonial Heritage in Africa, unpublished work, Owerri, No date (N.D.), p. 41.

Places of prayer were provided for them. The people whom they met listened to them. The same was the case with the Christian missionaries who came to the South. Traditional religious worshippers gave their labour force to help them build their places of worship, their homes and their various institutions. They were free to spread their religion, to make converts from members of the society.
This does not mean that there were no cases of intolerance, whereby Islamic or Christian missionary teachers were maltreated because of their faith. But the logic is there for all to understand. If our forefathers were not exceptionally tolerant, perhaps, there would have been no place for Islam and Christianity in today's Nigeria.

When we analyse Art.18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Right which reads: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief,and freedom, either alone or in a community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching,practice, worship and observance,"[11] we see that our forefathers had, many years before the declaration was adopted, shown that it is natural to be tolerant.
Except, perhaps, in some cases, where any of the new religions, like Islam, had used force to persuade the people to change their religion, many had abided by the dictates of their consciences.

---

11. Art. 18 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Adopted Dec. 10, 1948, quoted in: Iwe, Christianity, Culture and Colonialism in Africa, p. 254.

Can one really say that those age-long religious accommodative principles of our forefathers were justifiably compensated by Islam and Christianity in Nigeria?
To a certain extent the asnwer will read, no!
Iwe in his evaluation of religious liberty said that, "the fruits of religious liberty are precious human values which organized religion must seek to realize, protect and promote".[12]
Unfortunately the organized religions[13] which were called upon to protect and promote these fruits of religious liberty, were the very religions which violated these natural and previous values of religious liberty.
Not only did Islam and Christianity use material goods to lure members into their religion, but in some cases, physical, political and legal force was used to spread the religion even between 1914 and 1960.

In the North, for example, non-Muslims were made second-class citizen before the law, whereby Christian and Traditional religion worshippers were made to be inferior to a Muslim before the courts of law.[14]
Yet, this situation was condoned and upheld by a government which claimed to be democratic. While Islam lorded it over Christianity and Traditional religion in the North, Christianity had an upper hand over Traditional religion in the East.

---

12. Iwe, ibid., p. 22.

13. In the case of Nigeria, the organized religions meant are Christianity and Islam.

14. See Report on Min. fears, pp. 68-69.

In the West, some felt that they could achieve their political objectives by forming a religious political party. In each case, the instrument of the perpetration of religious intolerance in the society had always been most successful through the politicians. The religious bodies, in some cases, incited their members who were holding political offices to carry out the objectives of their religious groups.

An example of such situation could be noticed in the problem between the Catholic mission in Eastern Nigeria and the government.

Although the Protestants had always supported the Catholic view of rejecting the policy of the government of education, the Protestants later turned round to support the government's policy. "The Church Missionary Society's Senior Supervisor of Schools gave as his reason that the rank and file parishioners were bitterly hostile to Roman Catholics and to their opposition to the Government, and has passed a resolution which made it obligatory for him (the CMS Educational Supervisor) also to oppose Roman Catholic stand".[15]

Of course, the six Protestants and six Catholic members of the Enugu Municipal Council, most probably, took directives from their religious denominations too for the pattern of casting their votes.[16]

The situation was rather worsen when the religious directives came from the political leaders themselves who used the religious intolerance in the society as a powerful means of maintaining their political offices or chances.

---

15. Mackenzie and Robinson, p. 112. (words in brackets are mine).

16. Ibid., pp. 111-112.

This did not mean that all the religious leaders, who were as well politicians, were always influenced by their religion to tamper with the religious freedom of others. A political religious leader could, at the same time, be tolerant of other religions.[17]
But when a religious political leader helped his religious group in enforcing a religious law which deprieved its member the fundamental, religious liberty and that of other religions, one cannot say that such a leader is tolerant to all religions. One can cite the Islamic apostacy law as an example, whereby a Muslim was not allowed the freedom of conscience to change one's religion from Islam to another religion without not having to face some form of physical punishment. Although, this was an Islamic religious law, a government which claimed to exist for the interest of both Islam and other religions, should also be able to protect a "fallen-Muslim" from the physical, political, legal, or social tyranny of his former group.

In the same way, political leaders who helped in condoning the laws of their religions which make the citizens of their society unequal before the law,[18] because of their religions, cannot be said to have shown tolerance to other religions.

---

17. An example of this case could be seen in the person of Venerable T.A.J. Ogunbiyi. He did not only argue for the Christian toleration of the Traditional religion, but he went so far as seeking common bases for both religions. If the Anglican politician pastor had extended such understanding and religious toleration to other Christian denominations, inspite of his political chances to do otherwise, there would be no reason to think that religious intolerance was a characteristic of Nigerian religious leaders in politics.

18. Report. on Min. fears, p. 67.

This is why the apologetics offered by Ayandele, in his analysis of the Nigerian society, seemed very questionable. Ayandele claimed that, "Islam had been well-disposed to Christianity, as long as these "anasaras" "people of the books", do not disturb the Muslim's liberty and privacy by seeking to convert him to a religion the Muslim regards as an inferior revelation".[19]

The statement did not take into consideration that every religion sees its doctrines, belief and revelation as superior to that of other religions.

His statement tended to give Islam the monopoly of such claims. Islam just as Christianity and Traditional religion have the right to see the revelation of other religions as equal or inferior.[20]

No religious group can be happy when it looses its membership. But each religion should see it as the natural right of its member to decide for the religion or not.

Ayandele could be right when he said that, "it should be noted that Muslims hardly ever go out of their way to convert Christians by words".[21]

---

19. Professor E.A. Ayandele, "Evolving the New Nigerian Society", in: Nigeria in Transition, A critical Examination of the main Political, Economic and Social Aspects of the Nigerian Society, Kaduna, Sept. 11-13, 1979, p. 61.

20. Dr. Iwe's view that, "the Christian religionists have yet to be and practically convinced that the Moslems are sincere and true worshippers of God, Similarly and Moslems have to be persuaded that the Christians are true religionists and not perverted heathens", really sounded more justifying to the Nigerian situation. See Iwe, Problems of Colonial Heritage in Africa, p. 41.

21. Ayandele, "Evolving the New Nigerian Society"..., p. 61.

This does not mean that Muslims do not do that.[22]
It is, of course, better to convert one by words than by the use of any form of coercion, be it legal, political, economical, or social. Conversion by words,at least, recognizes the religious liberty and the freedom of conscience of the convert.

The use of force or any form of coercion in winning members into, or retaining them in a religion,is not only a sign of religious intolerance, but it also deprieves such members their natural rights and freedom, and instills a disperity in the society.
It was in recognition of this religious disperity in Northern Nigeria that the then Premier Ahmadu Bello strove to ameliorate the situation. Ahmadu Bello showed some determinations to put an end to the situation, where both Muslims and non-Muslims were brought before the Alkali court (Muslim courts) judges which had no penal code to guide them.
The Alkali (Islamic judges) were left to their personal discretion based on their knowledge of the Islamic Koran in dispensing justice.

---

22. See Report on Min. fears, Art. 31, p. 65. It was stated that some Muslims saw it as their duty to convert unbelievers. Christians and non-Muslims are those regarded as the unbelievers.

Of course, those who suffered most under such a situation were political opponents of the NPC,[23] and non-Muslims whose evidence in the Alkali courts were, by virtue of their religions, not reliable.[24]

Because of the persistent complaint of the Christians and Traditional religion worshippers, Ahmadu Bello decided to introduce a new penal code based on Islamic law in which the rights and evidences of non-Muslims would be recognized.[25]

---

23. Dudley reported of the case of eight prominent members of the NEPU (Northern Elements Peoples Union - This was the major opposition political party in Norhtern region) who were each jailed six months by such Alkali courts"for summoning and attending a political meeting allegedly in contravention of the Zaria N.A. (Control of Procession and Assemblies) Rule 1949".
Dudley noted that the actual and chief crime of the six men as stated by the District head of Giwa and the Village Head of Kaya "who reported in evidence before the Alkali, (was) that 'the men were no longer respectful'". Their not being respectful was a synonym for their crime of having joined a party which was against the views of the Islamic emirate leaders.
See Dudley, p. 83.

24. See Crampton, p. 87.

25. See Statement by Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria on the Reorganization of the Legal and Judicial System of the Northern Region. White Paper, December, 1958, in: Crampton, ibid., p. 87. A panel was set up by the Premier to travel to countries like Libya, Sudan and Pakistan, countries which have mixed communities of Muslims and non-Muslims. The panel was to study the method of jurisprudence in those countries and was to find out the possibilities of adopting such system in Northern Nigeria. The result of the work of this panel came out as the penal code which went into operation in 1960. It was noted that only a person of Ahmadu Bello's calibre, who has the record of being a pushful and devoted Muslim, (Vice-President of World Islamic Organization) could take such progressive step without incurring bitter opposition from the Sultan and Emirs of Northern Nigeria.

It was because of this situation of insecurity which some Nigerians felt in the face of religious discrimination, intolerance and victimization, not only because of ethnic affiliation, but also because of the religious fanaticism, that made them complain. As a result, some Christian groups in Lagos and in the North begged the Henry Willink's commission enquiring into the fears of the minorities, that the principles of the fundamental human rights be included into the Nigerian 1960 constitution.[26]

8.3. Nigerian 1960 Constitution and the Right of Religious Freedom

The Willink Commission of Enquiry made many recommendation in relation to religion which need to be quoted in detail for a thorough analysis.
Under Group D:"Right concerning Religion", it wrote:[27]

Freedom of Religion

a. Every person has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

---

26. See Report on Min. fears, chapter 14, Sect. 5, p. 97.

27. Ibid., p. 101-102.

b. Freedom to manifest one's religion or belief shall be subjected only to such limitation as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interest of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or moral, or for the protection of the right and freedom of others.

Religious Education

a. No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious ceremony or attend religious worship if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.

b. No religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for the pupils of that community of denomination in any educational institution maintained wholly by that community or denomination.

Commenting on these religious provisions which the commission thought necessary to Nigerian constitution, it added that it was necessary that the provisions should be drafted in such a way that they would be more specific. It said that "what are required are the following rights".[28]

---

28. Report on Min. fears, p. 102.

a. Freedom to hold and express freely any religious convictions or other beliefs and to publish them by any means not contrary to public order.

b. Freedom to assemble peacefully for worship for the peaceful and courteous proclamation of a religion or belief.

c. Freedom to sell and distribute literature which advances the teaching of any religion or belief provided it expresses with courtesy to other religions or belief.

d. Freedom to change one's religion or belief.

e. Freedom to have one's children educated when possible in a religion of one's own choice or if that is impossible in no other.

f. Freedom to conduct the affairs of one's religion or belief without state interference.

The commission concluded the recommendation by nothing that "in all these respects the State should have the right to intervene in specific instances and for defined periods in the interest of public tranquility or safety".[29] But as the commission had earlier noted, it was correct to fear that,"provisions of this kind in the constitution are difficult to enforce and sometimes difficult to interpret ... (since) a government determined to abandon democratic course will find ways of violating them. ..."[30]

---

29. Report on Min. fears, p. 102.

30. Ibid., p. 97.

This corresponded exactly with the fears of the groups which had appealed for these provisions.[31]
Inspite of this fear, Ngwoke sees the inclusion of these provisions as the lesser of two evils. He said that if the provisions "cannot fully eliminate a reckless government's encroachment of the individual rights and freedoms, yet, they can prevent a deteriotion of such a situation".[32]
The provision which guaranteed the fundamental right to freedom of religion was so included in Nigerian's 1960 constitution.[33]

As one could notice from the fear of the proponents of religious liberty provisions, they were more afraid of the ability of the policy-makers to digress from the spirit and letters of the provisions.
They were afraid that the policy-makers,who themselves were members of one religious group or the other, might be influenced by their religious experience to infringe on the religious, political, economical, social, and legal rights of others. This fear cut accross ethnic groups[34] and it cut accross regions.[35]

---

31. See Report on Min. fears, p. 64, 97.

32. Ngwoke, Religion and Religious Liberty in Nigerian Law, p. 55.

33. Nigerian (Constitution) Order in Council 1960, chapter III, Section 23.

34. Those who brought their complaint before the Willink commission in the North came from different ethnic groups. See Crampton, pp. 84-85. Those who asked for the religious liberty provision in Lagos also were not Northerners.

35. The complaining groups came from different regions: - Western and Northern regions.

It was no ethnic fear or regional fear, it was a political fear based on religion.

One can even assume that it was the fear of the people loosing their religious liberty that made those who drew the constitution think it necessary to make a provision for the fundamental rights in the country's constitution.[36] That could mean, there would not have been a provision for individual rights in the constitution if it were not for the role played by the different religious groups. This showed that, inspite of the fact that ethnicity and regionalism had played influencial role in moulding the nation's politics, one cannot deny the fact too that the role of religion in Nigerian politics remained very substantial.

While religious intolerance and fanaticism had their toll in the political history of the nation, the positive role of religion in Nigerian politics had, till independence, been very appreciable. But, it all had kept, or could keep to the spirit and letters of the religious liberty provisions in the 1960 constitution of the country, there would surely be less political problems generated by difference in religions.

The provision are there to remind us that we are essentially one, and that our religious brotherhood had existed long before the introduction of Christianity and Islam which, when misused, tended to divide us.

If all the religions were allowed their positive places in our society and their moral principles seen as an indispensable tool for salutory politics, our nation Nigeria would not have been, or will not be a victim of ethnicity, regionalism or statism.

---

36. Nigerian Constitution, 1960, chapter III, section 23.

CHAPTER NINE

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The then Prime Minister of Nigeria and the deputy-President of the ruling NPC party, Tafawa Balewa, warned the nation in 1960 that Nigerians should not allow religion to be brought into politics.[1] The admonition from Tafawa Balewa was also shared by other Muslims dominated political party, the NEPU. The Christians dominated political party, the NCNC warned that the multi-religious nature of Nigerian society sould be taken into consideration in the formulation of political policies.[2]
These, at least, showed the concern of the political organs to attain some form of compromise in the relation between religion and politics in Nigeria.

1.In a work of this nature it would almost be unpraticable to touch every aspect of the relationship between religion and politics in Nigeria in this volume. Even if Nigerian politics were to be defined, it would be nearly impossible to give a detailed and comprehensive definition for the politics of Nigeria, except for our having to relate the political activities as they were expounded by the organs of the government in relation to the society.

This, of course, included the involvement of the political actors who helped spell out the policies of the government and those of the actors who contributed in their formulation, criticism and appraisal.

---

1. West African Pilot, June 17, 1960.

2. Daily Times, July 12, 1961.

In this case, the work tried to limit itself to the politics in Nigeria between 1914 and 1960. This was a period which was compounded with the problems of consolidating the Nigerian "nation" and the process of finding an adequate ratio for an equitable distribution of political influence and positions between the various interest groups in the country.

2. Because of the specific role which the traditional culture played and plays in the general politics of Nigeria, one could realize why an analytical investigation into Nigerian politics needed the extensive use of past traditional history to form the basis of the needed hypothesis.
Notable in this exercise was the effort to depict the extensive role the Traditional religions played in the pre-colonial political structures.
The concepts that characterized the traditional political systems, with the undisputed role of the Traditional religion, was carried over into the colonial administrative organs, as the result of the investigation shows. An attempt to find out if any deep sociological and psychological change had been introduced into the concept of government of most ethnic groups of Nigeria showed that a sort of accommodative feeling was rather established.
This made it possible for the traditional systems of government, with their religious flavours, to progressively co-exist and compensate the new system of government introduced by Britain in the form of the indirect-rule system.

3. On the other hand, the religious activities, in relation to the politics in Nigeria between 1914 and 1960, were, to a greater extent, regulated by the three religions, Traditional religion, Islam and Christianity.

Inspite of the fact that each of these religions had their different internal bearing of emphasis which, in many cases, culminated in the many denominations of these religions, the political scenery, judged from an overall perspective, was more or less,postulated by the global tenets of the three religions other than by the sectarian emphasis.[3] This is why the work did not go into the detail of exposing concretely the impact and role of each of the Christian or Islamic denominations on Nigerian politics.

It would, surely, be of great interest to analyse the role of any of the denominations of Christianity and Islam in order to define the rate of the impact they made on Nigerian politics.

But it was considered that the study of the role of a Christian denomination, like the Roman Catholic or the Anglican Church, for example, was in itself a very detailed academic exercise which requires a deligent historical analysis. As such, it would be almost redundant if I have to combine both researches in this work. This is why the religions meant in this work referred only to the consented belief and tenets of the Christians, or of the Muslims, or of the Traditional religion worshippers.

---

3. (An exception could be seen in the Eastern region where Christianity found no direct rivalry in the Islamic religion within her region. Instead, Christianity found time for denominational scramble for power and political influence, as had been shown in chapter 7.)

4. From the result of this work, one will see that religion had contributed solidly to the political growth of Nigeria. These contributions were made not only through the education provided by Christian missionaries and their teaching of the equality of all men,[4] but also through the moral bases which the Traditional religion, Islam and Christianity gave to the political elites.

Religion played a great role in Nigerian politics also through the thoroughly organized political system based on Islamic laws which the Northern region inherited.[5]

The people in the South, on the other hand, inherited a different religious experience based on the Christian teaching of equality of all men and religious liberty. These teachings compensated the toleration which characterized the Traditional religion.

This was why it was easier for the colonial governments of the Western and Eastern regions to create a partial dichotomy between the purely political and the religious in the regional governments.

After the amalgamation of the North and the South, irrespective of the difference in the religious perception intensity and political experiences of the peoples, an initial difficulty could not be ruled out. Such differences, at times, led to political conflicts of opinions, fears and suspicions between the various religious groups. The religious feelings, fears and suspicions were easily transferred into the political arena.

---

4. See chapter 3 and 4.

5. See chapter 2.2.

It could be assumed, that it was the fear of this conflict between the Christians and the Muslims in their effort to influence national policies that forced the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa to warn that, "it would be the end of happiness in this country when religion is brought into politics".[6] In giving this caution, the Prime Minister meant to rebuke such religiously motivated sentiments as that expressed by Ahmadu Bello when he said: "Our Empire is going to last forever because it was inspired by the Creator of the Universe. ..."[7]
Of course, Ahmadu Bello was no longer referring to the empire which he said his ancestors set up through the "Holy War", but he was now referring to the modern state which he saw himself chosen to build[8] as an instrument "carrying out God's will and pleasure".[9]

One can also see in some of the ethnic and religious statements expressed by some Christian politicians as only helping to generate the chauvinism.
The then Christian ceremonial president of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe, for example,once said: "it would appear that the God of Africa has specially created the Ibo (Igbo) nation to lead the children of Africa from Bondage of ages. ..."[10]

---

6. West African Pilot, editorial, 18th June 1960.

7. Northern House of Assembly Debates, September 1961, Vol. 343.

8. See Ahmadu Bello, My Life, p. VIII.

9. Ahmadu Bello, p. 238.

10. West African Pilot, 6th July 1949.

Such statements, which had their motivation in the zeal to project one's religion or ethnic group, were very common in the pre-independence politics.

But this work has, in its own little way showed that inspite of the much emphasized placed on ethnicity as the major motivating factor in Nigerian politics, many of the activities of the politicians and their policies have, to a great extent, been very much influenced by their various religions. This was the case, especially in the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims.
The unity between the religious and political, as we saw in the analysis of the traditional political structures, seemed to have lived into the 20th century Nigerian society. This is also seen when consideration is taken of the place which religion was given in the political life of Nigerians.
Even political parties had a religious adviser in their party hierarchy. This was like the political arrangement in the traditional society, where the assistance of the religious class was always needed by the kings.

5. The attitude of the British colonial authorities towards the various religions was also the subject of our investigation. One of the most outstanding facts discovered during the course of the investigation was the role religious protectionism played as an instrument of politics.
It is, however, necessary that all the members of the three religions in Nigeria should be aware of the intrinsic inclination of each to protect the one's religion.
Such interest to protect one's religion had always taken the form of trying to enhance the political status of the members of one's religion.

It was also in the form of a religion trying to protect those avenues which were suspected would give the other religions an advantage. While we tried to find some understanding for the reactions of the Northern Muslims to the attempt of the Christian missionaries to introduces mission schools into the Northern region, this reaction was also seen to negate the right of other religions. The Muslims felt the introduction of the mission schools into the Muslim areas was an attempt to give the Christian religion and undue (or equal) advantage in the region over the Islamic religion. The Muslims could also have realized that the Christians would not, in any way, felt consoled when they were made to see themselves been subjected to the Islamic laws and way of life, or political policies which gave the Islamic religion undue advantages over the other religions.

6. In the relationship between religions and the state, as we saw, it is the duty of the religions to help the state to maintain an impartial stance towards all the religions, in so far the religions respects the laws of the state. This study showed that the religious chauvinism in Nigeria made the situation very difficult for most political administrations to maintain this required neutrality.

Even as early as 1915, the government of Lugard, as had been shown, was confronted with this problem of his government avoiding not to take side with any of the religious groups.[11]

---

11. Lugard, Memorandum on Education, 1915, Appendix 11, pp. 34-35.

Though, as we had seen,[12] the British colonial administration did not hide their pretentious sympathy for the Islamic religion in the Northern region. That was because the Islamic religion was needed to effect the autocratic indirect-rule system of the colonial government. In order to maintain the needed political system in the North, the rule of the Islamic Emirs received the colonial blessing of Britain.

7. The Christian missionaries, in establishing schools in the Southern areas, did not also just aim at the educational and political emancipation of the people. Like Bishop Shanahan was quoted to have said, when he was establishing a mission school in a village, he reinterated that the schools were not built "in order that your children may get to know "book", so that when they grow up they will be fit for government work and will make money and know much ... The principal reason for a school is that the children of the town may know about God, and learn how to serve Him".[13]

Yet, it was the missionary education which gave the first set of nationalists who fought for the independence of Nigeria, the education and aspiration they needed for their struggle.[14]

This Christian aspiration and education helped the politicians through the turbulent period of colonialism. The education and social services provided by the missionaries opened the eyes of the people to the realities of their political destiny and increased their standards of living.

---

12. Chapter 3.

13. John P. Jordan, Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria, Dublin, 1949, pp. 97-98.

14. Chapter 4.

The Islamic Koranic education also provided its political elites with the strength of patience which they needid in waiting for a favourable period for their self-government. Islam also gave the Muslims the needed moral virtues which made political leadership by their representatives easier.

8. The constitutional provision for the liberty of religion and its implying principles helped to guarantee the freedom of all to their religion. But it is then necessary that all members of the different religious groups in Nigeria should try to cultivate some principled attitude directed at helping to make the guarantee in the constitution a reality. Judging from the results of the investigation into the role of religion in Nigerian politics between 1914 and 1960, many political leaders rather helped to promote religious antagonism and fanaticism. Critical investigations also showed that it was not alway ethnicity that was brought into consideration in the relationship between the Northerners and the Southerners. In many cases, it was rather religion. For most Christian Southerners - Igbo, Yoruba, or Edo, the average Northerner was immediately categorized as a Muslim irrespective of his ethnic group.
In the same way,did the Hausa or Fulani see in the Igbo or Yoruba, not only the "tribe" but the Christian religion. This is why it is necessary that a segregation based on religion should be discouraged. Religious segregation, in very many cases, only encourages fanaticism in politics. This is even more dangerous than tribalism. The various political crisis in Nigeria between 1914 and 1960 cannot be completely dissociated from such religious intolerance and fanaticism.

9. It will not be the end of happiness in Nigeria when religion is brought into politics like the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Tafawa Balewa, feared.[15]
It would rather be the end of happiness in Nigeria when we totally exclude religion and religious experiences from politics. Like Bernard Ngwoke said: "an impenetrable juridical wall of separation between the Church and state can never be strong enough to stand in Nigeria. Given that Nigeria is 45 % Muslims and 49 % Christians, no one who has the survival of the nation at heart can attempt this form of secularism".[16]
The difference, however, would be to ask what is meant when we talk of allowing religion into politics.

As had been shown, religion cannot be said to have been totally excluded from politics. The reality remains that our various religious experiences, be it those of Islam, Christianity or the Traditional religion continued to play an underground influence in our natural human activities, of which political activities cannot be excluded or made an exception.
Under such a situation, the only avenue left to us in the relationship between Nigerian politics and the three religions in the country is that all of them and their members should also be conscious of those principles which are necessary for any organized and harmonious society.
That is, the members of the various religions should be conscious of those basic religious virtues of partnership, dialogue, tolerance, compromise, equality, freedom and confidence of all in all.

---

15. West African Pilot, 17th June 1960.

16. Bernard Ngwoke, p. 140.

With these religious moral virtues entrenched into the political consciousness of most Nigerians, we can make adequate use of these properties preached and enhanced by our various religions to strengthen our unity instead of allowing the religions to disunite Nigeria and her peoples.

ABGEKÜRZTE ARBEITSDISPOSITION UND ZUSAMMENFASSUNG ZUM THEMA:

NIGERIANISCHE POLITIK UND DIE ROLLE DER RELIGION

1. Knapper Problemanriß:

Nigeria gehört zu einem der vielen afrikanischen Länder, das für häufige politische Unruhen bekannt ist.
Es ist entweder ein Militärputsch, eine blutige Auseinandersetzung oder sogar ein Bürgerkrieg, wie der bekannte Biafrakrieg.
Dieser Krieg, wie auch viele andere Unruhen in Nigeria, wurden oft als Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Stämmen angesehen. Ja, es gibt in Nigeria ungefähr 300 verschiedene ethnische Gruppen, mit vielen Sprachen, die 1914 von der britischen Kolonialmacht zusammengeführt wurden.
Dazu aber kamen die unterschiedlichen Religionsauffassungen im Land - wie Traditionelle Religion, Islam und Christentum.
Dieses heterogene Charakteristikum des Landes führt oft zu diesen Auseinandersetzungen.

2. Erkenntnisinteresse

In der Analyse der Ursachen des Problems Nigerias sind die vielen ethnischen oder die regionalen Zugehörigkeiten oft als die Grundursachen zu erkennen.
Die Rolle der drei Religionen Nigerias in der ganzen Problematik scheint in den meisten Fällen verdrängt zu werden.
Aber trotzdem tritt sie manchmal in Erscheinung, wenn ein direkter Konflikt im Zusammenhang mit den Religionen der Fall ist.
Weil dieses Grundphenomen nicht genug beachtet wird,

scheint es mir wichtig, eine Analyse der Rolle der Religion in der Grundstruktur Nigerias aufzustellen.

3. Fragestellung aus dem Erkenntnisinteresse

Die Religionen, sowie die verschiedenen ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten mit den unterschiedlichen Sprachen bestimmen die Grundelemente des heterogenen Nigeria.
Alle diese Elemente spielen ihre Rolle in der gesamten Politik des Landes.
Speziell wird gefragt:

- Welche Rolle spielen die drei Religionen - Traditionelle Religion, Islam und Christentum in der gesamten nigerianischen politischen Struktur?
- Wie haben diese Religionen das politische Entscheidungsorgan, die Entscheidungsträger und ihre politischen Aktivitäten beeinflußt?
- Sind die Rollen, welche die Religionen in Nigeria spielen, ihnen in der Landesverfassung zugesagt?
- Stimmen Wirklichkeit und das Prinzip der Verfassung überein?

4. Definition des in der Arbeit zu behandelnden Gegenstandes

Wegen besonderem Interesse, werden die hier in der Arbeit benutzten Begriffe Religion und religiöse Erfahrung als ein rein seelisches Gefühl, das aus der Glaubenserkenntnis stammt, dargestellt.
Dies im Unterschied zu der soziologischen Gruppierung, die diese religiösen Erfahrungen ausübt.
Unter dieser letzten Perspektive kommen Christentum, Islam und Traditionelle Religion in Betracht.

5. Erörterung des Forschungsstandes und der Quellenlage

In der Analyse des Grundprinzips, auf das die Gesamtstruktur Nigerias gebaut ist, haben die unterschiedlichen Sprachen, die Stämme und die Religionen, im Zusammenhang mit der nigerianischen Politik, die meisten wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen gefordert.
Eine echte Untersuchung der Rolle der Religion in der Politik Nigerias als Hauptthema ist nur sehr selten in Betracht gekommen, wie bei Ayandele´s: " The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria (1842 - 1914)".
Die Kolonialzeit 1914 - 1960 ist sehr wichtig für jede Untersuchung an den Grundprinzipien, auf denen Nigeria aufgebaut ist.
Deshalb versuchte ich, meine Untersuchungen auf diesen Zeitraum zu beschränken.
Allerdings um auf eine Basis der allgemeinen Verbindung zwischen Politik und Religion in Nigeria zu gelangen, habe ich die Werte solcher Verbindungen in der traditionellen Gesellschaft untersuchen müssen um zu wissen, ob es Parallelen oder Unterschiede gibt.

Durchgeführte Interviews, Kolonialreporte, Order in Councils und Reporte von den verschiedenen Verfassungskommissionen haben mir sehr geholfen.
Dazu kommt meine persönliche Erfahrung, daß ich das Glück gehabt habe, in drei verschiedenen Hauptgebieten Nigerias zu leben und die jeweiligen Sprachen zu lernen.
Zeitungen und Sekundärliteratur waren mir ebenfalls wesentlich behilflich.

6. Arbeitshypothese

1. Man könnte sagen, daß der Einfluß der Religion auf die Politik ihre Basis in der traditionellen Rolle der Religion in der Stammesgesellschaft Nigerias hat.

2. Dieser Zusammenhang der politischen Kultur mit der traditionellen Wirklichkeit macht den Einfluß der Religion auf die nigerianische Politik beinahe unvermeidbar.

3. Die unterschiedliche religiöse Auffassung führt, wenn man sie nicht kontrolliert, zu Auseinandersetzungen.

4. Wenn man sie kontrolliert und verfassungsmäßig ausübt, könnten die Religionen der nigerianischen Einheit helfen.

7. Zusammenfassung

Als eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Untersuchung der Rolle der Religion in der nigerianischen Politik wurde eine ausführliche Analyse des vor der Kolonialzeit vorhandenen Herrschaftssystems der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen vorgenommen.
So wurde der Unterschied in der Anpassungsfähigkeit der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen an das britische Kolonialherrschaftssystem, und ihre politische Konsequenz deutlicher.
Wie üblich war die Religion das Zentrum aller traditionellen Herrschaftssysteme, jedoch war die Intensität ihrer Wirkung in der Gesellschaftsordnung sehr unterschiedlich.
Die Auswirkung der Religion zeigte sich bei zentralisierten Herrschaftssystemen deutlicher als in dezentralisierten Gesellschaften.

1. Im Norden hatten die 7 Königreiche der Hausa und Kanem-Bornu Empire das am meisten zentralisierte Herrschaftssystem.
In dieser Herrschaftsstruktur waren die Könige zugleich die weltlichen Oberhäupte.
Diese Situation erleichterte ab dem 11. Jahrhundert das Eindringen des Islams.
1804 begann der Heilige Islamische Krieg unter der Führung von Othman dan Fodio.
Dadurch gelang es den islamischen Fulani,die Herrschaft über die Hausa-Königreiche zu übernehmen, das Volk wurde zum Islam gezwungen.
Selbstverständlich konnten keine Unterschiede zwischen rein gesellschaftlichen und religiösen Angelegenheiten gemacht werden.

Dadurch gelang es den islamischen Fulani, die Herrschaft über die Hausa-Königreiche zu übernehmen, daß Volk würde zum Islam gezwungen.
Selbstverständlich konnten keine Unterschiede zwischen rein gesellschaftlichen und religiösen Angelegenheiten gemacht werden.
Als die britische Kolonialmacht die Führung im Gebiet der Fulani übernommen hatte, nutzten sie das vorhandene islamische Herrschaftssystem, anstatt es abzuschaffen.
Die britische Herrschaft half sogar, die Nicht-Moslems zum Islam zu zwingen.
Das war notwendig, um einen Erfolg des "indirekten Herrschafts-systems" des Kolonialismus vorzeigen zu können.
Durch die Wirkung der islamischen Führer (Emire) gelang es den Briten erfolgreich mit dem "indirekten Herrschaftssystem" zu sein.

2. Im Süden dagegen waren die traditionellen Herrschafts-systeme nicht so sehr zentralisiert wie im Norden.
Sogar so streng zentralisierte Herrschaftssysteme wie zum Beispiel das bei den Yoruba hatten politische Strukturen von Kontrollorganen eigebaut. Damit konnten die Herrscher ihre Macht nicht unkontrolliert ausüben. Obgleich Religion eine wesentliche Rolle in den politischen Strukturen spielte, waren die Yoruba "Oba" nicht sehr strenge religiöse Figuren.
Bei den Igbo war es ganz anders. Sie hatten eine völlig de-zentralisierte Gesellschaft, und so war auch ihre religiöse Einstellung. Das Christentum und das europäische Erziehungs-system, die im Süden eingeführt worden waren, halfen die südliche Gesellschaft zu sekularisieren.
Mit der Zeit wurde die politische Macht von den religiös beeinflußten traditionellen Herrschern der südlichen ethnischen Gruppen zu der neuen christlich erzogenen Elite transferiert.

Es war diese christliche Elite, die Gleichberechtigung und Unabhängigkeit Nigerias von den Briten verlangte.
Alle diese Tatsachen machten das "indirekte Herrschaftssystem" der Kononialmacht im Süden wirkungslos, im Gegensatz zu den Moslems im Norden.

3. Wegen der nationalistischen Einstellung, die durch die abendländische Schule in den Süden eigeführt worden war, machten die Engländer es den christlichen Missionaren schwer, im Nordern ihren Glauben durch Kirche und Schule zu verbreiten. Die Engländer und die islamischen Führer fürchteten die Konsequenzen des christlichen Glaubens auf ihr Herrschaftssystem.
Jeder Kontakt zwischen den nördlichen Moslems und den südlichen Christen wurde vermieden. Es wurde auch vermutet, daß die britischen Kolonialherrscher sich als Beschützer der islamischen Religion und Herrschaft gegen die in den Norden vordringenden Christen ausgegeben haben.
Hierauf beruhte das gute Verständnis zwischen den islamischen Häuptlingen im Norden und der britischen Kolonialmacht.
Dies zeigt sich nicht zuletzt im Aufbau vor nur 5 Sekundarschulen bis 1947 für ca. 20 Millionen Einwohner.
Gleichzeitig bewirkte diese Politik, daß auch das eigene islamische Volk nicht die gleiche nationalistische Einstellung und politische Aufklärung erfuhr wie die Christen im Süden.
Die wenigen Schulen, die im Norden entstanden, wurden meistens von den Angehörigen der wenigen aristokratischen Familien besucht. Aus diesen Schulen rekrutierten sich die politischen Eliten, die Unterstützungen bei der britischen Kolonialmacht fanden. Deshalb waren die Eliten im Norden am wenigsten bereit, die politische Unabhängigkeit von Großbritannien zu verlangen.

4. 1947 trafen sich zum ersten Mal im nigerianischen zentralen Parlament Vertreter des von der abendländischen Kultur und Religion bereits emanzipierten Südens, und die des noch von der islamischen Weltanschauung stark beeinflußten Nordens.
Wegen dieser recht gegensätzlichen Einstellungen waren Konflikte im Parlament unvermeidbar.
Es herrschte ein gegenseitiges Mißtrauen zwischen den beiden Gruppen: der von der britischen Kolonialmacht beeinflußte islamische Norden befürchtete, daß ein unabhängiges Nigeria den besser ausgebildeten Politikern des Südens Vorteile bringen würde.
Andererseits beanspruchten die islamischen Eliten, aufgrund ihrer Religion und ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu aristokratischen Familien,die politische Führung des gesamten Landes.
Dagegen sahen einige christliche Politiker in der islamischen Religion ein Hindernis auf dem Weg zu einem unabhängigen Nigeria. Manche Christen fürchteten, aufgrund von Äußerungen einiger islamischen Politiker,daß der aufgegebene "Heilige Krieg" wieder aufgenommen werden könnte.
Dieses gegenseitige Mißtrauen und das Streben die jeweilige religiöse Weltanschauung zu verbreiten, beherrschte die politische Lage Nigerias lange Zeit.

5. Nachdem 1954 vermehrt Nigerianer in politische Ämter der Briten zugelassen wurden, versuchten diese neuen Eliten ihre verschiedenen Religionen zu nutzen, um ihre eigenen politischen Ziele zu realisieren.
In Nordnigeria, wo die islamische Religion als Verwaltungsinstrument genutzt wurde, brauchten die zugelassenen islamischen Politiker das schon bestehende System nur zu verstärken. Als Angehörige der herrschenden Hausa/Fulani Aristokratie nutzten die meisten Politiker ihre Macht,ihre Religion zu verbreiten.

Dabei halfen ihnen die britischen Kolonialherrscher.
Islamische Gesetze, Gerichte, Schulen und Kulturen wurden in nicht-islamische Gebiete des Nordens eingeführt.
Islamische Dorfhäuptlinge, die in diese nicht-islamischen Gebiete gesandt wurden, führten die Arbeit aus.
Sie machten das Leben für die Nicht-Moslems im Norden schwierig, sodaß diese zum Islam übertreten mußten.
In Westnigeria war die Situation ganz anders: die 3 Religionen waren fast gleich in den Regionen verteilt. Deshalb war es für eine religiöse Gruppe schwer, sich gegenüber den anderen zu behaupten.
Trotzdem versuchten einige Politiker ihre Glaubensanhänger zu organisieren, um eine Partei auf religiöser Basis zu gründen.
Da die meisten Politiker von den christlichen Schulen ausgebildet worden waren, konnten sie die Regierung mit ihrer sekularisierten Einstellung beeinflussen.
Deshalb fühlten sich die Moslems dieser Region benachteiligt und versuchten diese Situation zu korrigieren.
Im allgemeinen kann man sagen, daß die Regierung der Region eine neutrale Einstellung gegenüber den drei Religionen behielt.
In Ostnigeria, wo kein islamischer Einfluß vorhanden war, konnte sich das Christentum behaupten. Allerdings entstand eine Rivalität unter den verschiedenen christlichen Gruppen. Jede dieser Gruppen baute Schulen, Krankenhäuser und andere soziale Einrichtungen, um Anhänger zu werben.
Die Stärke ihrer Mitglieder nutzten sie auch, um politische Vorteile für sich zu erhalten. Es wurde ebenfalls vermutet, daß die katholischen Christen versuchten eine Partei zu gründen, um einer Benachteiligung bei der politischen Amtsverteilung vorzubeugen.

Dies war jedoch unmöglich gemacht worden, durch die sekularisierte Weltanschauung, die durch die christliche Erziehung eingeführt worden war.
Generell kann man sagen, daß in den südlichen Regionen die neuen politischen Eliten christlich waren, und nicht mehr viel Wert auf ihre traditionellen religiösen Erfahrungen legten.
Sie übernahmen die politischen Ansichten von der alten Generation der Dorfhäuptlinge, die meistens Analphabeten waren.
Dagegen blieb im Norden, durch die ganze Kolonialzeit hindurch, die größte politische Macht bei der alten islamischen Generation der Fulani.
Da die neuen politischen Eliten im Norden dem islamischen Emir (Führer), aufgrund der islamischen Auffassung einen unbedingten Gehorsam schuldig waren, konnten die Emire die Entscheidungen der Politiker stark beeinflussen.

6. Wegen dieser unterschiedlichen religiösen Erfahrungen, Intensität und gesellschaftlicher Weltanschauung, und aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Verwaltungssysteme, welche die britische Kononialmacht in Nigeria nutzte, wurde es immer schwieriger eine nationale Entscheidung zu treffen.
Die Politiker, entweder im Interesse ihrer Religion oder persönlicher Ziele, versuchten die nationalen politischen Entscheidungen mit ihren religiösen Auffassungen zu beeinflussen. Andersgläubige wurden entweder benachteiligt oder verfolgt.
Deshalb haben, 1958, Gruppierungen, die sich aufgrund ihrer Religion benachteiligt gefühlt haben, eine beauftragte Kommission gebeten, die Menschenrechtsprinzipien in der Unabhängigkeitsverfassung von 1960 zu verankern.

7. Sowohl der erste Premierminister des Landes, Tafawa Balewa, als auch viele andere Politiker zeigten sich besorgt über die Folgen eines religiösen Fanatismus im Lande.
Einige befürworteten eine Trennung von Religion und Politik.
Aber in einem Land wie Nigeria ist eine solche Trennung nicht zu gewährleisten. Wie gesehen, ist das gesellschaftliche Leben der Nigerianer sehr von der Religion beeinflußt.
Sicher werden religiöse Erfahrungen und Auffassungen auch in der Politik gebraucht.
Denn durch die Lehre der Religionen begegnet man Tugenden wie: Toleranz, Dialog, Kompromißbereitschaft, gegeseitiges Vertrauen, Partnerschaft, Sinn der Freiheit und die Rechte des anderen zu respektieren.
Dies sind grundsätzliche religiöse Tugenden die, wenn sie in der Politik berücksichtigt werden, hilfreich für die Schaffung eines guten politischen Klimas im Land sind.
Weil einige politische Machthaber in Nigeria meistens nur Leuten gleichen Glaubens diese Grundsätze entgegenbrachten, wuchs die gegenseitige mißtrauische Einstellung.
Dies führte zu politischen Krisen.
Wenn jedoch alle die Grundbedeutung der Religionen respektieren, werden wir in Nigeria erkennen, daß die drei Religionen: Christentum, Islam und Traditionelle Religion, anstatt unter uns Unruhe zu stiften, zum Verständnis untereinander beitragen werden!

List of Figures

		Page
2. 1.	Political Structure in the Hausa/ Fulani Empire.	108
2. 2.	Political Structure of an Emirate	109
2. 3.	Yoruba Political Stucture in the Oyo Empire	123
2. 4.	The Structure of the Obi's Political Administration	131
2. 5.	Political Structure of an Igbo Village	138
2. 6.	Political Organs in Igboland	139
2. 7.	The Structure of the Mai's Government	153
7. 1.	Religion in Traditional Homogeneous Societies	322
7. 2.	Colonial System of Administration in the North	329
7. 3.	Colonial Administration in the South	330
7. 4.	Influence of Religion in Regional Government: Northern Region, 1954-60	333
7. 5.	Influence of Religion in the Regional Government: Eastern and Western Regions - 1954-1960	334
7. 6.	Religious Influence on the National Policies	342

-BIBLIOGRAPHY-

Selected Books

Abdullah, M.S., (Hrsg.), (et al.) Der Glaube in Kultur, Recht und Politik
Mainz, 1982.

Achebe, C. Things Fall Apart,
London, 1958.

Afigbo, E.A. The Warrant Chiefs,
Longmans, London, 1972.

Aguolu, C.C. Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970,
Boston Hall, 1973.

Ajayi, J.F.A. Christian Missions in Nigeria:
1841-1891,
London, 1965.

Alogoa, J.B. The small Brave City-State:
A History of Brass-Nembe in the
Niger Delta, Ibadan, 1964.

Aluko, S.A. The Problems of Self-Government for
Nigeria: A Critical Analysis,
Devon, Stockwell, 1955.

Anene, J.C. Southern Nigeria in Transition
1855-1906: Theory and Practice in a
Colonial Protectorate, Cambridge
University Press, 1966.

Awa, Eme O. — Federal Government in Nigeria, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1964.

Awojobi, Ayodele. — Nigeria in Search of a Political Order, Ruffi Commercial Press, Lagos, 1981.

Awolowo, Obafemi. — Path to Nigerian Freedom Faber & Faber, London, 1947.

___ — Thoughts on the Nigeria Constitution, Ibadan, 1966.

___ — The Strategy and Tactics of the People of Nigeria, London, 1970.

___ — Voice and Wisdom, Faybamigbe Publishers, Akure, 1981.

___ — Voice or Courage, Akure, 1981.

Ayandele, E.A. — The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis, Longman, London, 1966.

___ — African Historical Studies, Frank Cass & Co Ltd., London, 1979.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi. — Development of Political Parties in Nigeria, London, 1957.

———	Origins of Nigerian Civil War, London, 1969.
Balewa, Abubakar T.	Nigeria Speaks: Speeches of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Longman, Lagos, 1964.
Baine, J.M.	Catholic Pioneers of West Africa, Commore and Reynolds, Dublin, 1956.
Banton, M., (ed.)	Political System and the Distribution of Power, London, 1965.
Bascom, M.R. and Herkovit, M.J., (eds.(	Continuity and Change in African Culture, Chicago, 1959.
Bascom, William R.	The Yoruba of South-Wester Nigeria, New York, 1969.
Basden, G.T.	Niger Ibos, London, 1968.
Bello, Ahmadu.	The Sardauna of Sokoto: My Life Cambridge University Press, 1962.
Biobaku, S.O., (ed.)	Sources of Yoruba History, Oxford, 1973.

Biobaku, S.O. (ed.)	The Origin of the Yoruba, Lugard's Lectures, Time Press, Lagos, 1960.
Blake, J.W.	Europeans in West Africa 1450-1560, Vol. 2, London, 1942.
Blyden, E.W.	Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, Edinburgh, 1967.
Bohannan, Paul.	Justice and Judgement among the Tiv, Oxford University Press, London, 1957.
Bohannan, Laura and Paul.	The Tiv of Central Nigeria, London, 1953.
Boston, J.S.	The Igala Kingdom, Ibadan, 1968.
Bouguet, A.C.	Man and Deity, Cambridge, 1933.
Bourdillon, (Sir) Bernard.	Memorandum on the Future Political Development of Nigeria, Government Printer, Lagos, 1942.

Bourdillon, B. — A Further Memorandum on the Future Development of Nigeria, Lagos, 1942.

— — The Future of the Colonial Empire, The Christian Looks Ahead Series, London, 1945.

Bowie, Robert R, and Friedrich, Carl J.,(eds.) — Studies in Federalism, Little Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1954.

Bradbury, R.E. — The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria,(and the Itsekiri by Lloyd, P.C., London, 1957.

Bretton, Henry L. — Powers and Stability in Nigeria, The Politics of Decolonization, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1962.

Buchanan, K.M. & Pugh, J.C. — Land and People in Nigeria, University of London Press, London,1955.

Buell, Raymond Leslie. — The Native Problem in Africa, 2 vols. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

Burns,(Sir) Alan. — History of Nigeria, London, 1955, 1972.

Buxton, Thomas F. — The African Slave Trade and its Remedy, London, 1968.

Carter, G.M. — National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States, Cornell University Press, New York, 1966.

Chinwuba, Obi S.N. — Law in Africa: Modern Family Law in Southern Nigeria, Sweet & Maxwell, London, 1966.

Chukwuma, Michael. — Political Philosophy of John Locke, (Magisterarbeit), Innsbruck, 1982.

__ — Possibilities of an African Christianity, (Magisterarbeit) Innsbruck, 1981.

__ — Socio- Philosophical Review of the Government of Our Ibo Ancestors and the Influence of Religion, (Thesis), Enugu, 1977.

__ et al. — The Concept of Good Government - South-East of Nigeria, Enugu, 1976.

Clough, G.R. — Oil River Traders, Memories of Iboland, London, 1972.

Cohen,(Sir) Andrew. The British Policy in Changing Africa, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1959.

Cohen, Robin. Labour and Politics in Nigeria: 1945-1971, Ibadan, 1974.

Cohen, Roland. The Kanuri of Bornu, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, London, 1967.

Coleman, James S. Nigeria - Background to Nationalism, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1958, 1971.

— The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa, in: Almond, G.A. and Coleman, J.S.(eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton, 1960.

— The Role of Tribal Associations in Nigeria: Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan, 1952.

Coleman, J.S. and Rosberg, C.G.,(eds.) Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1964.

Collis, Robert. Nigerian Conflict, London, 1970.

Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, Philadelphia, 1943.

Coupland, Reginald. The British Anti-Slavery Movement, London, 1933.

Crampton, E.P.T. Christianity in Northern Nigeria, in: Nigerian Story, edited by Kalu Ogba, Daystar Press, Ibadan, 1978.

Crowder, M. The Nigerian Story, London, 1966.

Deaville, F. A Hundred Years in Nigeria, Cargate Press, 1942.

Delano, Isaac. One Church for Nigeria, London, 1945.

Dike, K.O. 100 Years of British Rule in Nigeria 1851-1951, Lagos, 1957.

— Origins of Niger Mission, 1842-1891, U.I. Press, Ibadan, 1962.

— Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885, Oxford, 1962.

Dordett, A.	Die Ordung zwischen Kirche und Staat, Innsbruck, 1958.
Dudley, B.J.	An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics, London, 1982.
__	Instability and Polítical Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria, Ibadan Political and Economical Studies, Ibadan, 1973.
__	Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, Frank Cass, London, 1968.
Egharevba, Jacob.	A Short History of Benin, 3rd edition, Ibadan, 1960.
Ehlen, P.	Christentum - Weltanschauung Ideologie oder Was? Bachem, Köln, 1976.
Ejiofor A. Lambert.	Dynamics of Igbo Democracy, A Behaviour Analysis of Igbo Poltics in Aguinyi Clan, Ibadan, 1981.
Ekandem, D.I.	The Church in the Rise of Nigeria, Aba, !974.
Elechi, F.K.	Missinary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland 1857-1914, London, 1971.

Elias, T.O. — Law in a Developing Society, Ethiope Publ. Corp., Benin, 1973.

— — Nigerian Land Law, London, 1971.

Enahoro, Peter. — How to be a Nigeria, Ibadan, 1966.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. & Fortes, M.,(eds.) — African Political Studies, London, 1941.

Ezera, Kalu — Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, Cambridge, 1964.

Fage, J.D. — An Introduction into the History of West Africa, Cambridge, 1955.

Fafunwa, B.A. — History of Education in Nigeria, London, 1974.

Fagothy, Austin. — Right and Reason, St. Louis, 1959.

Fajana, A. & Biggs, B.J. — Nigeria in History, Ikeja, Nigeria, 1964.

Falconbridge, A. — An Account of Slave Trade on the Coast of Afrca, London, 1788.

Fasholé-Luke, E., Gray, R., et al. (eds.) — Christianity in Independent Africa, Rex Collins, London, 1978.

Feinstein, Alan. — African Revolutionary: The Life and Times of Aminu Kano, New York, 1973.

Flint, J. — Nigeria and Ghana, New Jersey, 1966.

Flint, John E. — Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, London, Ibadan, Accra, 1966.

Forde, Daryll C. — The Nupe, London, 1955.

— — The Yoruba Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria, Intern. African Institute, London, 1951.

Forde, D.C. & Jones, G.I. — The Ibo and the Ibibio - Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria, Intern. African Institute(IAT), London, 1955.

Forde, D., Brown, P. & Armstrong, R.G. — Peoples of the Niger Benue Confluence, London, 1955.

Forde, D.C.& Kaberry, P.M., (eds.) — West African Kingdoms of the Nineteenth Century, London, 1967.

Forster, K. — Kirche und Politik Bachem, Köln, 1974.

Friesenhahn, E. und Scheuner, U. — Handbuch des staatlichen Kirchenrechts in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Berlin, 1974-75.

Gambari, I.A. — Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria under the First Republic, Zaria, 1980.

Graham, S. — Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria (1900-1919), Ibadan, 1966.

Green, M.M. — Igbo Village Affairs, London, 1947.

Gun, Harold. — Peoples of the Plateua Areas of Northern Nigeria, IAT, London 1953.

— — Pagan Peoples of the Central Areas of Northern Nigeria, London, 1956.

Hailey, Lord. — An African Survey: A Study of the Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara,London,1957.

Hallett, R., (ed.) — The Records of the African Association 1788-1831, London, 1964.

Hatch, John. — Nigeria, Seed of Disaster, London, 1971.

Hiskett, M. — The Development of Islam in West Africa, London, New York, 1984.

Hodgkin, Thomas. — Nigerian Perspective: A Historical Anthology, London, 1960.

Höffner,Josef. — Der Christ in Staat und Gesellschaft, (Interview über gesellschaftspolitische Perspectiven), Bachem, Köln, 1974.

— — Christliche Gesellschaftslehre, Kevelaer, 1978.

Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. — The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Tradition, London, 1966.

Idowu, Bolaji. — African Traditional Religion, London, 1973.

Isichei, Elizabeth. — A History of Nigeria, London, 1983.

Isichei, E. — The History of the Igbo People, London, 1976.

Iwe, N.S.S. — Christianity and Culture in Africa, University Publ. Company, Onitsha, (n.d.)

— — Christianity, Culture and Colonialism in Africa, Port Harcourt, (n.d.)

— — The Problem of Colonial Heritage in Africa, Owerri, (n.d.)

Jacobsen, H.-A. & Dollinger, H.,(Hrsg.) — Deutsche Geschichte von 1871 bis heute, München, 1983.

Jennings, J.H. & Hoebel, E.A. — Reading in Anthropology, New York, 1955.

Johnson, Samuel. — History of the Yorubas, (edited by Dr. O. Johnson), London, 1921.

Jones, G.I. — The Trading States of the Oil River, University Press, London, Ibadan, Accra, 1963.

Joye, E. Michael.& Igwebike, Kingsley. Introduction into the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, London 1982.

Kalu, Ogba. The Nigerian Story, Ibadan, 1978.

King, N.Q. Religions of Africa, New York, 1970.

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria: A Documentary Sourcebook 1966-1969, 2 vols, London, New York, Ibadan, 1971.

__ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: Documentary Record, London, 1968.

__ ,(ed.) The Principles of Native Administration, Selected Documents 1900-1947, OUP, London,1965.

Kisembo, B., Magesa, L. & Shorter, A. African Christian Marriage, London, Dublin, 1977.

Langer, A. Kirche und Kimmunismus, Bachem, Köln, 1977.

__ Kirche und Staat, Bachem, Köln, 1982.

Langer, A. — Menschenrecht Staat Gesellschaft, Bachem, Köln, 1975.

Little, Kenneth L. — West African Urbanization - A Study of Voluntary Association in Social Change, Cambridge, 1962.

Lloyd, P.C. — Yoruba Land Law, London 1962.

Mabogunje, A. — Land, People and Traditon, in: Blitz, L.F. (ed.), The Politics and Administration of Nigerian Government, London, 1965.

Macfarlane, Donald M. — Calabar and the Church of Schotland Mission 1846-1946, London, 1946.

Mackennzie, W.J.M. and Robinson, Kenneth E. — Five Elections in Africa, Oxford, 1966.

Mackintosh, John P. — Nigerian Government and Politics, London, 1966.

Madụagu, Eddie. — The Problems of Socialism: The Nigerian Challenge, Zed Press, London, 1982.

Makozi, A.O. & Ojo, G.J.A.,(eds.) — The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, Macmillan, Nigeria, 1982.

Maritain, Jacques. The Rights of Man and Natural Law, New York, 1971.

Mbefo, L. John Paul II and Nigerian Catholicism, Snaap Press, Enugu, 1982.

Mbiti, J. S. African Traditional Religions and Philosophy, New York, 1970.

— Introduction to African Religion, London, 1975.

Meek, C.K. A Sudanese Kingdom, London, 1931.

— The Northern People of Northern Nigeria, 2 vols. London, 1925.

— Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria, London, 1931.

Messner, Johannes. Das Naturrecht: Handbuch der Gesellshaftsethik, Staatethik, und Wirtschaftsethik, 3. Aufl., Innsbruck, Wien, München, 1958.

Miller, Roland.,(ed.) Travels of Mungo Park, London, 1954.

Morel, E.D. Nigeria - Its Peoples and Its Problems, Frank Cass, London, 1967.

Murdock, G.P. — The Traditional Socio-Political System of Nigeria: An Introductory Survey, in: Tilman R.O. and Taylor, C.(eds.), The Nigerian Political Scene, Durham, 1962.

Murray, John C. — The Problems of Religious Freedom, London, 1965.

Nadel, S.F. — A Black Byzantium, The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria, London, 1945.

Nair, Kannan K. — Politics and Society in South-Eastern Nigeria 1841-1906: A Study of Power, Diplomacy and Commerce in Old Calabar, London, 1972.

Nawroth, E. — Kommunalisierung des Bodens? Bachem, Köln, 1975.

Ngwoke, I.B. — Religion and Religious Liberty in Nigerian Law, Rome, 1984.

Niven, Rex. — The War of Nigerian Unity 1967-1970, London, 1970.

Njaka, E.N. — Igbo Political Culture, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1974.

Njoku, Rose A. — The Advent of the Catholic Church in Nigeria: Its Growth in Owerri Dioces, Assumpta Press, Owerri, 1980.

Nnoli, Okwudiba — Ethnic Politics in Nigeria, Enugu, 1980.

Nohlen, Dieter. & Nuscheler, F.(hrsg.) — Handbuch der Dritte Welt, Bd. 4, Ludwigsburg, 1982.

Nwabueze, B.O. — A Constitutional History of Nigeria, London, 1982.

— — Constitutinalism in the Emergent State, London, 1973.

— — Constitutional Law of the Nigerian Republic, London, 1973.

Nwogugu, E.I. — Family Law in Nigeria, Ibadan, 1976.

Nzimiro, I. — Studies in Igbo Political System: Chieftaincy and Politics in Four Niger States, London, 1972.

Odinamadu, B.O. — Politics and the Igbo Elites, Ibadan, 1979.

Odumosu, Oluwole I. — The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development, London, 1963.

Ojiako, James O. — Nigeria: Yesterday, Today and ...? Onitsha, 1981.

Okere, T. — T.V. Reflections, Owerri, 1979.

Okoye, G. — The Christian and the Sense of Responsibility, Enugu, 1977.

Okonkwo, C.,(ed.) — Introduction to Nigerian Law, London, 1980.

Opku, Ugbana. — Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigeria Politics 1960-1965, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsalla, 1977.

Ollawa, Patrick E. — Demokratie und Nationale Integration in Nigeria 1960-1965, Frankfurt, 1970.

Oluyede, P. & Aihe, D.C. — Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty, London, 1982.

Onimode, Bade. Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: London, 1982.

Orewa, E.O. An Introduction into Local Government Account in Western and Mid-western Nigeria, Ibadan, 1966.

Orr, C.W.J. The Making of Northern Nigeria, London, 1911.

Osahon, Naiwu. A Nation in Custody, Lagos, 1964.

Otegbeye, Tunji. Ideological Conflicts in Nigeria Politics, Lagos, 1964.

Otite, Onigu. Autonomy and Dependency - The Urhobo Kingdom of Okpe in Modern Nigeria, London, 1973.

Owonaro, S.K. The History of Ijaw and her Neighbouring Tribes in Nigeria, Lagos, 1949.

Oyinbo, John. Nigeria: Crisis and Beyond, London,1971.

Park, A.E.W. The Sources of Nigerian Law, London, 1931.

Parrinder, G. — African Traditional Religion, London, 1962.

— — West African Religion, London, 1969.

Peil, Margaret. — Nigerian Politics: The Peoples View, London, 1976.

Perham, Margery. — Native Administration in Nigeria, London, New York, Toronto, 1962.

Post, K.W.J.& Vickers, Michael. — Structure and Conflict in Nigeria 1960-1965, Ibadan, Nairobi, 1973.

Raucher, Anthon. — Christliche Soziallehre unter verschiedene Gesellschaftssystemen, Köln, 1980.

Rauscher, A.& Roos, L. — Die soziale Verantwortung der Kirche, Köln, 1977.

Rogers, Charles. — Christian Ethics and the Problems of Society, Oxford,1974.

—

Roos, L. — Katholische Soziallehre und Kirche in der Dritte Welt, Bachem, Köln, 1982.

— — Demokratie als Lebensform, München, Paderborn, Wien, 1969.

— — Grundwerte der Demokrtie und die Verantantwortung der Christen, Münster, 1981.

Roth, Ling. — Great Benin, Its Customs, Art, and Horror, London, 1968.

Royal Institute of International Affairs. — Nigeria: The Political and Economic Background, London, 1960.

Sai, Akija. — The Tiv Tribe as Seen by one of Its Member,(transl. Rupert East), London, 1965.

Sanneh, Lamin. — West African Christianity: The Religious Impact, London, 1973.

Schwarz, Frederick A.O. — Nigeria: The Tribe, the Nation, or the Race - The Politics of Independence, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., London,1965.

Schwarz, Walter. — Nigeria, Pall Mall Press, London, 1968.

Shorter, A. — African Christian Thelogoy, London, 1975.

Sklar, Richard L — Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963.

Smith, M.G. — Government of Zazzau, 1880-1950, London, 1960.

——— — The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, London, 1955.

Smock, A. — Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria, Cambridge, 1971.

St. Croix, F.W. — The Fulanis of Northern Nigeria, London, 1972.

Stennin, D.J. — Savannah Normads, Oxford, 1959.

Stoeckle, B. — Concise Dictionary of Ethics, London, 1975.

Stuttler, J.A. — Kirche und Staat, Aschaffenburg, 1969.

Talbot, Amaury. — Life in Southern Nigeria, London, 1923.

——— — The Peoples of Southern Nigeria: History, Ethnography, Statistics, Linguistics, 4. Vols. London, 1969.

___	Tribes of the Niger Delta: Their Religions and Customs, London, 1932.
Temple, Charles L.	Native Race and Their Rulers, 2nd Edition, London, 1968.
Temple, O.I. and Temple, C.L. (eds.)	Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 2nd. Edition, London, 1965.
Thomas, Isaac.	Life and History of Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 1948.
Trimingham, J.S.	A History of Islam in West Africa, London, 1962.
___	Islam in West Africa, London, 1959.
___	The Christian Church and Islam in West Africa, London, 1955.
Uwechue, R.	Reflections on the Nigerian Civil War: Facing the Future, London, 1971.
Wach Joachim	Sociology of Religion University of Chicago Press, 1944.

___	The Comparative Study of Religion, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1958.
Walterhouse, H.O.	The Social Message of the Church, C.T.S., London, 1980.
Weber, W.	Der soziale Lehrauftrag der Kirche, Bachem, Köln, 1975.
Westermann, D.	The African Today, London, 1934.
Wetlesley, Dorothy.	Sir George Goldie - Founder of Nigeria, London, 1934.
Wheare, Joan.	The Nigerian Legislative Council, Faber & Faber, London, 1949.
William, Eric.	Capitalism and Slavery, London, 1964.

ARTICLES

Afigbo, E.A. "The Missions, the State and Education in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1956-71", in: Fasholé, E., Gray, R., Hastings, A. and Tasie, G., Christianity in Independent Africa, London, 1978.

Ajayi, J.F.A. "19th Century, Origin of Nationalism", in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 1, No. 4, December, 1959.

Aluko, S.A. "How Many Nigerians", in: The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.3, No. 3, 1965.

Ayandele, E.A. "Evolving the New Nigerian Society", in: Nigeria in Transition, Kaduna, September 11-13, 1979.

___ "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1914", in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol.3, No. 3, December, 1966.

Azikiwe, N. "Essentials for Nigerian Survival", in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, April, 1965.

Bradbury, R.E. "Chronological Problems in the Study of Benin History", in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 1, No.4, 1959.

Burdon, J.A. "The Fulani Emirates or Northern Nigeria", in: The Geographical Journal, Vol. 24, 1904.

Coleman, J.S. "Nationalism in Tropical Africa", in: American Political Science Review, Vol. XLVIII, 1959.

Cooke, C.M. "Church, State and Education: The Eastern Nigerian Experience, 1950-67", in: Fashoíé, E. (et al.), Christianity in Independent Africa, London, 1978.

Dike, K.O. "John Beecroft, 1790-1854: Her Britannic Majesty's Consul to the Bight of Benin and Biafra, 1849-54", in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 1, No. 1, December, 1956.

Dudley, B.J. "Federalism and Balance of Political Power in Nigeria", in: Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, Vol. IV, No.1, 1966.

Eisenstadt, S.N. "Primitive Political System: A Preliminary Comparative Analysis", in: American Anthropologist, Vol. LXI, 1959.

Ekpo, Eyo. "Nigeria's Traditional Ideals, Culture as an Instrument of National Unity", in: Nigeria in Transition, Kaduna, September 11-13, 1979.

Ezera, K. "Nigeria's Constitutional Road to Independence", in: Political Quarterly, Vol. 30, 1959.

Forde, D. "The Condition of Social Development in West Africa", in: Civilization, Vol. 3, No.4, 1953.

Hair, P.E.H. "Guide to Record of Early West African Mission", in: Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. 1, No.2, 1967.

Hauser, Günter "Länderberichte: Nigeria nach dem ersten Jahr der Unabhängigkeit, in: Außenpolitic, 12. Jg., 1961.

Herskovits, Jean. "Democracy in Nigeria", in: Foreign Affairs, pp. 315-335.

___ "One Nigeria", in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 51, No.2, 1973.

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. "Who Coined the Name Nigeria?", in: West Africa, December 22, 1953.

Mackintosh, John L. "Federal Election in Nigeria", in: Political Studies, Vol. 10, No.3, 1962.

Mackintosh, John L. "Federalism in Nigeria", in: Political Studies, Vol. 10, No.1, 1962.

___ Politics in Nigeria - The Action Group Crisis of 1962", in: Political Affairs, Vol. XI, No.2, 1963.

Nicolson, I.F. "Nigeria: Wars Cold and Hot, and Lukewarm Ideas", in: Politics and History, Vol 22, No.3, 1976.

Onwubu, Chukwuemeka. "Ethnic Identity, Political Integration, and National Development: The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 13, No.3, September, 1975.

Ottenberg, S. "Improvement Associations among the Afikpo Igbo", in: Africa, Vol. 25, 1955.

Schlette, H.R. "Religious Freedom", in: Rahner, K., Encyclopedia of Theology, London, 1975.

Schwab, W.B. "Kinship and Lineage Among the Yoruba", in: Africa, Vol. XXV, October, 1955.

Whitaker (Jr.), C.S. "A Dysrhythmic Process of Political Change", in: World Politics, Vol. XIX, No.2, 1967.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Annual Report for Northern Nigeria, 1902, No. 409.

Federal Information Service: 100 Facts about Nigeria, Lagos, 1958.

Federal Republic of Nigeria, Digest of Statistic, Federal Office of Statistic, Lagos, 1965.

Federal Republic of Nigeria, Nigeria Heute, Nigerian Information Service, Bonn, W/Germany, January-April, 1983.

Legislative Council Debate, March 22, 1945.

Legislative Council Debate, March 24, 1947.

Legislative Council Debate, March 4, 1948.

Legislative Council Debate, Vol. III, March 11, 1949.

Native Court Ordinance, Number 44 of 1933.

Nigerian Embassy Vienna, News from Nigeria, Vienna, Austria, Feb.-March, 1981.

Nigeria, Order in Council, July, 1906.

Nigeria, Order in Council, 1913.

Nigeria (Protectorate) Order in Council, 1922.

Nigeria, (Legislative Council), Order in Council, 1922.

Nigeria, (Legislative Council), Order in Council, 1946.

Nigeria, Annual Report, 1950.

Nigeria, (Constitution), Order in Council, 1951.

Nigeria, House of Representative Debate, March 31, 1953.

Nigeria, (Constitution), Order in Council, No.1146, 1954.

Nigeria, (Constitution Amendment), Order in Council, No.153o, 1957.

Nigeria, (Constitution), Order in Council, No.1652, 1960.

Population Census of the Eastern Region of Nigeria 1953, Lagos, 1954.

Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria 1952, Lagos, 1952/53.

Population Census of the Western Region of Nigeria 1952, Lagos, 1953/54.

Record of the Nigerian Council, Lagos, 1920.

Report on the Fiscal Commission on Financial Effects of the Proposed new Constitutional arrangements, Cmd. 9026, London, 1953.

Report of the Kano Disturbance, 16th, 17th and 19th May 1953, Kaduna, 1953.

Report by the Conference on Nigerian Constitution held in London in July and August 1953, Cmd. 8934, London, 1953.

Report by the Resumed Conferene on the Nigerian Constitution held in Lagos in January and February 1954, Cmd.9059, London, 1954.

Report by the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in May and June 1957, Cmd.207, London, 1957.

Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in September and October 1958, Cmd.569, London, 1958.

Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, 1957/58, Cmnd. 505, London, 1958.

Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden: Allgemeine Statistik des Auslandes, Länderberichte: Nigeria, 1967, 1972, 1981, 1983, Stuttgart und Mainz, 1967/72/ 1981/83.

The Constitution of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon, Lagos, 1945.

The Manifesto of the Northern Peoples' Congress, Kaduna, October 1, 1951.

UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1979/80.

United Nation, Statistical Yearbook, 1982.

West African Annuals 1966, Lagos, 1966.

NEWSPAPERS

Daily Service
Daily Times
Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo
Nigerian Citizen
Sunday Times
West Africa (London)
West African Pilot

OTHER BOOKS

Akinyemi, A.B.	Foreign Policy and Federalism: The Nigerian Experience, Ibadan, 1974.
Almond, G.A. & Coleman, J.S.	The Politics of Developing Areas, Princeton, 1960.
Ansprenger, Franz.	Afrika: Eine politische Länderkunde, Berlin, 1962.
- -	Politik in Schwarzen Afrika: Die modernen politischen Bewegungen in Afrika Französischer Prägung, Köln, Opladen, 1961.
- -	Versuch der Freiheit, Stuttgart, 1972.
Arikpo, Okoi.	Development of Modern Nigeria, London, 1967.
Arnold, Guy.	Modern Nigeria, London, 1977.
Ayandele, E.A.	The Educated Elite in Nigerian Society, Ibadan, 1974.
Blitz, L. Frankin ,(ed.)	The Politics and Administration of Nigerian Government, London, 1965.

Idang, Gordon J. — Nigeria: Internal Politics and Foreign Policies, Ibadan, 1973.

Kaden, Wolfgang. — Das nigerianische Experiment: Demokratie und nationale Integration in einem Entwicklungsland, Hannover, 1968.

Kaufmann, Herbert. — Nigeria, Bonn, 1958.

Perham, M.(ed.). — Economics of a Tropical Dependency, 2 vols. London, 1946.

Perham, M.F. — Tribes of the Niger Delta: Their Religion and Customs, Gordon, London, 1976.

Whitaker, C.S.(Jr.). — The Politics of Tradition, Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970.

Williams, G. — Nigeria - Economy and Society, London, 1976.

Williams, G. — State and Society in Nigeria, Lagos, 1980.

CURRICULUM VITAE OF AUTHOR

Michael Chukwuma was born on 10th June 1953 in Zungeru, Niger State, to Cathrine and Alfred Chukwuma of Ugbawka, Anambra State, Nigeria.
He received his Primary education in various schools at Offa, Zungeru and Zaria while the Secondary education was in schools at Onitsha and Nsukka.
After the Secondary education he proceeded to Bigard Memorial Seminary, Enugu. There, he studied Philosophy from 1974 to 1977 before taking up a teaching appointment at Government College Mani, Katsina.
The studies in Philosophy and Theology which were continued at Enugu and the University of Innsbruck, Austria, were brought to an end with the Master's degrees in Theology (1981) and Philosophy (1982). He was ordained priest in 1982.

Already during the course of studying Philosophy Michael had developed keen interest in Political Science. He wrote various papers on the subject and ended his studies in Philosophy with a thesis on the Political Philosophy of John Locke.
The four years of doctoral study in Political Science took him to the Universities of Heidelberg and Bonn, West Germany, where he completed his studies with this dissertation.
Michael is widely travelled and is interested in languages, speaking fluent Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, English, German, but little French.